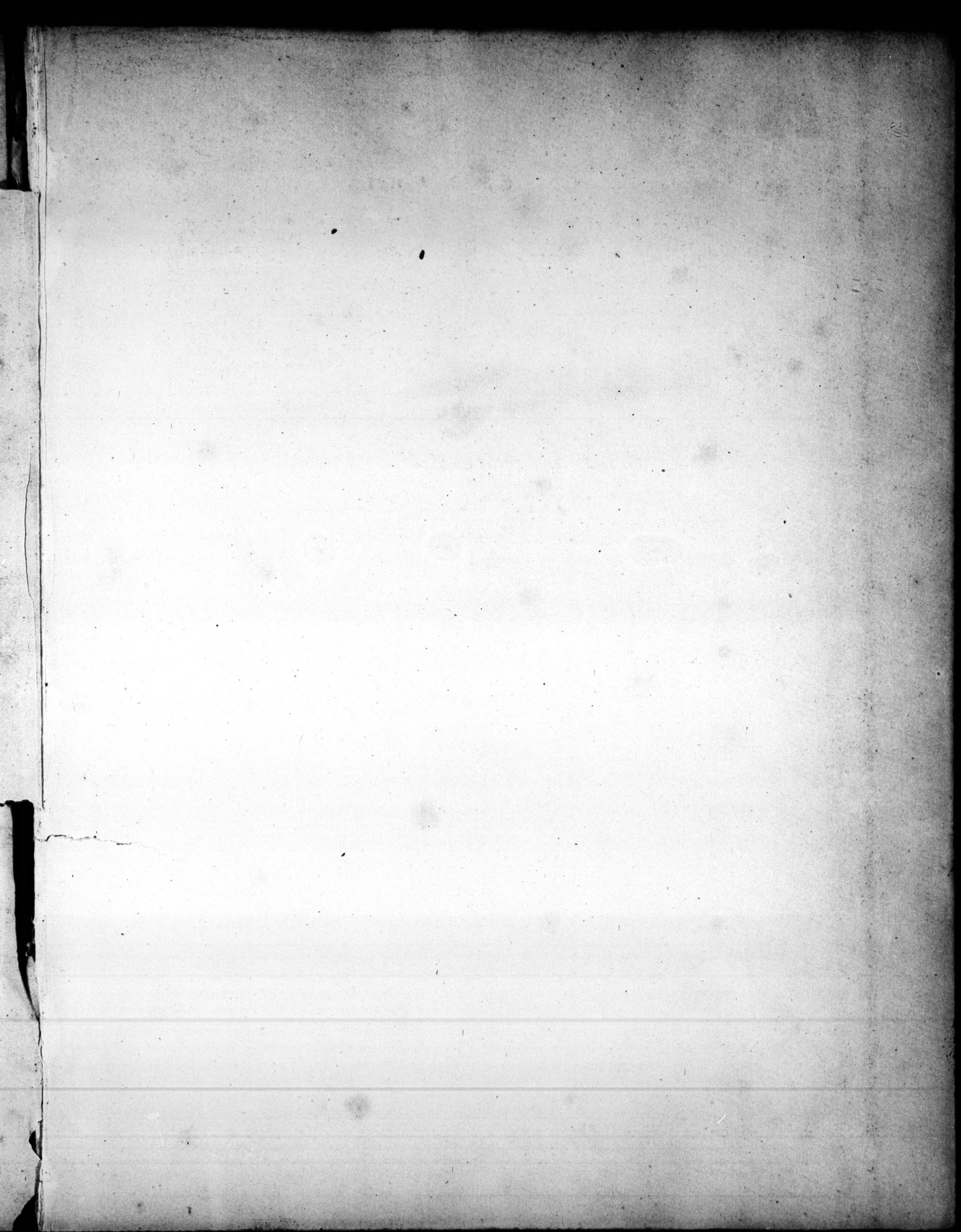


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THE
WORKS
OF

Mr. *Thomas Emlyn.*

CONTAINING,

I. A Collection of TRACTS relating to
the Deity, Worship, and Satisfaction of our
Lord JESUS CHRIST, &c. with large
Additions.

II. OBSERVATIONS on the Notions
of *Dr. Waterland.*

III. MEMOIRS of the Life and Senti-
ments of *Dr. Samuel Clarke.*

These two now first publish'd from the Author's MSS.

IV. SERMONS on various practical Subjects.

To the whole are prefixed,

MEMOIRS of the Life and Writings of
the AUTHOR.

In THREE VOLUMES.

The FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN NOON, at the *White-Hart* near
Mercers-Chapel in *Cheapside*; and JOHN WHISTON,
in *Fleet-Street.* MDCCXLVI.

THE
WORKS

OF
MR. THOMAS BARNES

CONTAINING

A COLLECTION OF TRACTS RELATING TO

N. B. The last Edition before this was by mistake
called the *Second* Edition, whereas it was in
reality the *Third*, and should have been so
called in the Title.

H. OBERVANT

OF DR. WATSON

THE MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND SENTI-

N. B. The Author's own Notes have the Letters
T. E. at the end of them, by which they are
distinguished from those of the Editor.

TO THE READER
MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF
THE AUTHOR.

IN THREE VOLUMES

THE FOURTH EDITION

LONDON

Printed for J. G. & J. W. in the Strand, near
St. Martin's Church, and for J. W. in
St. Paul's Church-yard.

THE
WORKS
OF

Mr. *Thomas Emlyn.*

VOLUME I.

CONTAINING,

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|--|--|
| <p>I. A Narrative of the Proceedings against him.
<i>First printed</i> 1719.</p> <p>II. An Humble Inquiry into the Scripture Account of <i>Jesus Christ.</i> 1702.</p> <p>III. General Remarks on Mr. <i>Boyle's Answer. Wrote</i> 1704. Also on Christ's not knowing the Day of Judgment, and the Argument from the Creation.
<i>Now first published.</i></p> <p>IV. An Answer to Mr. <i>Boyle</i> on the head of Worship. 1706.
<i>Now added, An Answer to Dr. Waterland on the same head.</i></p> | <p>V. The supreme Deity of God the Father demonstrated against Dr. <i>Sherlock.</i> 1707.</p> <p>VI. A Vindication of Bishop <i>Fowler</i> against Dr. <i>Sherlock.</i> 1707.</p> <p>VII. A Letter to Dr. <i>Willis</i>, (afterwards Bishop of <i>Winchester</i>.) occasioned by his Sermon before the House of Commons, Nov. 5. 1705.</p> <p>VIII. The Previous Questions to the several Questions about Baptism, Whether it was intended as a standing ordinance among the posterity of baptized Christians? 1710.</p> |
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To which are prefixed,

MEMOIRS of the Life and Writings of
the AUTHOR.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year MDCCLVI.

THE WORKS OF ISAC NEWTON VOLUME I ERRATA.

- Pag. vi. l. 27. for *of which* read *under*.
 l. 28. dele *was then Master*.
 Pag. xxvi. l. 6. for *the* read *their*.
 Pag. xlii. l. 3. for *it* read *them*.
 Pag. lviii. l. 2. for *carefully excluding* read *they may
 be careful to exclude*.
 l. 4. for *admitting* read *admit*.
 Pag. lxxxviii. l. 27. for *children* read *the offspring*.
 Pag. 85. l. 2. in notes, for *Optics*, p. 314, 315.
Lat. Edit. read *Principia*, p. 482, 483. 2d Edit.
 Pag. 325. l. 25. for *deemed* read *denied*.
 Pag. 400. l. penult. for 104 read 140.
 Pag. 404. l. 27. for *our* read *your*.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Life and Writings

OF

Mr. *THOMAS EMLYN*.

The Righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance. Psal. 112. 6.

They shall put you out of the Synagogues; yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think, that he doth God service.

*And these things will they do unto you, because
THEY HAVE NOT KNOWN THE FATHER
NOR ME. John 16. 2, 3.*

VOL. I.

a

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND Writings

OF
MR. JOHN W. FLEMING

THE
LIFE OF
MR. JOHN W. FLEMING
BY
J. W. FLEMING
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Vol. I



MEMOIRS of the Life and Writings of Mr. THOMAS EMLYN.

THE Author of the following Tracts having himself wrote and published a full account of the most important and public scene of his life, I mean his prosecution and sufferings for conscience sake, which it is to be hoped was of use to expose the folly and wickedness of such outrageous and violent zeal, there may seem but little now left to be added. But as he was no less exemplary in the other parts of his Life, which were more suited to general imitation, it may also have its use to draw the out-lines of his private character and deportment; and tho this may consist of many incidents, in themselves but of small moment, yet from these familiar passages, the reader is better enabled to enter into the temper and complexion of the man, than from studied treatises, and to form a more perfect idea of the Author, which he will carry along with him in perusing his works, if not to his profit, yet sometimes at least to his greater satisfaction and entertainment.

We live in a degenerate Age, when serious religion is but little regarded, being attack'd from without and betrayed from within, when many not distinguishing human additions and corruptions

from the native and genuine principles of Christianity, count those, who sincerely believe it, as men of weak understandings, and little judgment; while others, no less injurious to the interest of the gospel, are so bigotted to established opinions and notions imbibed in their childhood, that all, who call in question what they deem *orthodoxy*, are by them treated as *heretics* or *blasphemers*.

It may therefore be of some service to let the world see an instance of *One*, who tho a close reasoner, of strong judgment and clear understanding, was yet a firm believer of the Christian religion; and again, who tho a serious and pious Christian, did nevertheless take the liberty of judging for himself, and saw reason to differ from reputed orthodoxy in some very important points. Let none therefore foolishly imagine it is for want of good sense, that any man is a Christian, or that the being such requires a strict attachment to received articles and opinions.

Further, as *Infidels* are ready at every turn to upbraid us with the debauched and immoral lives of vicious *Christians*, who are indeed a disgrace and scandal to their profession; so it becomes us not to be wholly silent, when we can instance in such, whose eminent virtues, and exemplary piety render them an ornament and credit to the religion they professed.

Man indeed is a frail imperfect creature, and the best are not without their infirmities, so that while he is continued in this state of trial, how glorious a part soever he may have acted for the time past, we cannot pronounce upon him; some future failing may blemish all he had done before, and sully the lustre of the brightest actions; but when he has finished his course, and persevered in the paths of uprightness to the last, when death

of Mr. Thomas Emlyn.

death, which strips off all disguises, and exposes him to naked view, has demonstrated the sincerity and integrity of his conduct; we may then pronounce with greater certainty, and make our boast of those noble principles, which have produced and at length compleated so excellent an example; then it becomes us to do our part towards fulfilling that declaration of the Psalmist, *The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.*

We are apt to gaze with admiration on the mighty conquerors of the world, and celebrate the praises of those, who through toil and danger have gained some signal victory, and triumphed over potent enemies; but surely the victory over the flesh and the world, over all temptations to betray our integrity from the allurements of earthly honours and riches on the one hand, or the terrors of reproach and sufferings on the other, is a no less difficult and arduous task, requires no less pains and steady courage, and is therefore no less illustrious, nor merits less our applauses; for whoever would triumph in this warfare, *must endure hardships as a good soldier of Christ.*

Mr. THOMAS EMLYN was born at Stamford in Lincolnshire, May 27. 1663. His Father's name was *Silvester Emlyn*, or as he formerly wrote it, *Emley*; why or upon what occasion he varied it, I know not. He was a man of great plainness and honesty, of a small estate in that neighbourhood, which he kept in his own hands and management. His Mother was *Mildred Dering*, daughter of Mr. *John Dering* by *Charing* in Kent, a person of excellent parts and endowments; of her I find this memorandum: "She was a person of great
" sincerity and prudent useful holiness, very de-
" vout and charitable, of good natural abilities,

Memoirs of the Life

“ and them well improved by the advantage of
 “ education, being always studious and much
 “ given to books.” Our author, tho their only
 Son, was not long continued at home, for in
 the eleventh year of his age, viz. *August 1674*,
 he was put to boarding school at Mr. *Bobeme's*
 at *Walcot* near *Folkingham*, where he continued
 four years, and on *Sundays* was the constant audi-
 tor of the famous Mr. *Richard Bracklesby* the then
 incumbent of that parish.

His parents were frequenters of the established
 church, and particularly intimate with the very
 learned and worthy Dr. *Richard Cumberland*, then
 Minister at *Stamford*, afterwards Bishop of *Peter-
 borough*; but being inclined to the Puritan way,
 and having observed a spirit of seriousness and
 sobriety to be then more generally prevalent a-
 mong the Non-conformists, chose to bring up
 their son to the ministry among them, altho'
 the times were such as afforded no encouraging
 prospect to those of that denomination. For
 this purpose in the year 1678 he was sent for
 Academical education to Mr. *Shuttleworth* at
Sulby near *Welford* in *Northamptonshire*; here he
 staid other four years; in the year 1679 he took
 a journey to *Cambridge*, and was admitted into
Emanuel College, of which Mr. *John Richardson*
 was then Master, but returned again to Mr.
Shuttleworth. This private obscure Academy did
 not well suit with our Author's taste and inclination,
 for here he could see but very few books and them
 chiefly of one sort, so that he was kept a stranger
 to what passed in the learned world; this did by
 no means gratify his inquisitive mind and eager
 thirst after knowledge.

In *August 1682* he removed to Mr. *Doolittle's*
 Academy, first at *Islington*, then at *Clapham*, and
 afterwards at *Battersea*. Here he was near the
 public

public scene, and had the opportunity of perusing variety of books, and of conversing with learned men of all sorts, by which and the strength of his own genius he made much greater improvements than by the instructions of his tutor, who tho a very worthy and diligent divine, yet was not eminent for compass of knowledge or depth of thought; for he soon soared above the low lessons of that Academy, nor could his enlarged mind submit to be cramped by the narrow schemes of systematical divinity, for he was early possessed with an opinion, that in religious matters he ought to judge for himself, and be tied down by no authority, where the reasons did not appear convincing, tho no reason was with him stronger than this, *That God had said it.* From hence he set out and made his first essay as a preacher, Dec. 19. 1682, at Mr. Doolittle's meeting-house near *Cripple-gate.*

In the year 1683, he was recommended to the Countess of *Donegal*, a lady of great quality and estate in the North of *Ireland*, but at that time living in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, and was received May 15. into her family in the capacity of chaplain. The Countess was then intending to return to *Ireland*, but did not go till the year following. While the family resided in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, he was the sorrowful spectator of a very tragical and affecting sight, I mean the execution of that worthy and renowned patriot, Lord *William Russel*, who falling a sacrifice to the merciless and vindictive temper of the then Duke of *York*, may truly be said to have died a martyr for the cause of liberty and his country. There were, as I have heard him say, very few spectators even of the guards themselves, whose melancholy and dejected countenances did not discover great concern and grief at the fatal blow given to that

noble Lord, and through him to the liberties of this nation.

The next year 1684, he went over with the Countess and the rest of the family to *Belfast* in *Ireland*, where she was soon after married to Sir *William Franklin*, and lived in great state and splendour. Here he had a very liberal and handsome allowance, usually wore the habit of a clergyman, and was treated both by Sir *William* and the Countess with great marks of civility, who shewed him the respect of an equal, and required the same regard to him from the servants and attendants as to themselves; of which encouragement he made no improper use, for as his behaviour was manly, void of a childish sheepishness, so was it equally distant from a pert forwardness, or intruding boldness.

Sir *William*, who had a good estate in the West of *England*, offered him a considerable living there, if he would have conformed to the established church, but this he declined, the terms of ministerial conformity being such as he could not conscientiously comply with, tho he had not then those scruples, which he afterwards had in relation to the articles of the Trinity: but the principles of an undissembly honesty had taken such deep root in him, that no worldly advantages could prevail with him to violate the peace of his own mind. And yet he was very far from being stiff in trifles, or bigotted to any particular party; for on *Sundays* he constantly attended the service of the church both parts of the day, and in the evening when he preached in the Countess's hall, was attended by the minister* of the parish, with whom he lived in great intimacy, and often

* Mr. Claude Gilbert, whose son was afterwards senior Fellow, and Vice-Prebost of the college at Dublin.

often officiated for him in the parish-church ; for in those days Protestants were united, and brotherly love continued, and without any subscription he had from the Bishop of the diocese a licence to preach *facultatis exercende gratia*, insomuch that it was given out he had quite left the Dissenters and gone over to the church.

While he was in this station he made a journey to *Dublin*, and when there preached once to that congregation, of which Mr. *Daniel Williams* and Mr. *Joseph Boyse* were then pastors, in a manner so acceptable to the audience, as gave occasion afterwards for that people to invite him thither.

Towards the latter end of K. *James's* reign in the year 1688, the North of *Ireland* was thrown into great confusion and disorder, and there were frequent alarms of an insurrection of the Papists to massacre the Protestants, in like manner as they had actually done in the year 1641, insomuch that it was not thought safe for these to assemble without arms, and our Author has been obliged, when he preached, to have pistols in his pocket.

These public troubles, as well as some domestic differences between Sir *William* and his Lady, occasioned that family to break up, and our author returned to *London*, Dec. 1688. whither Mr. *Daniel Williams* had for some time before retreated, having quitted the pastoral care of the congregation at *Dublin*, to which he could never after be persuaded to return : but before Mr. *Emlyn* left *Ireland*, Mr. *Boyse* being desirous to know how he stood inclined to succeed in Mr. *Williams's* place, wrote him as follows.

REV^d

Memoirs of the Life

REV^d. SIR, *Dublin, 1. May 1688.*

“MY own exigencies are the occasion of
 “giving you this trouble. Mr. *Wil-*
 “*liams*, whose return was expected, has, af-
 “ter long keeping us in suspense, determined
 “to fix in *London*. The burden of a numerous
 “congregation is thereby devolved on my
 “shoulders, who am very incapable of bearing
 “it. That which encourages me to write to
 “you once more is the report I hear from good
 “hands, that you are leaving *Belfast*, and at
 “least design to see *Dublin*. I would therefore
 “beg the favour to know, whether the report
 “be true; if so, how soon you think of being
 “here, and especially whether you would be in-
 “clinable to take part of this charge with me
 “upon an invitation here. This town is very
 “destitute of Ministers, and yet I scarce know
 “any place, where their labours are more ne-
 “cessary, or more conducive to the interest of
 “religion. ’Tis here indeed rumoured, that you
 “are intirely addicted to the church, but I think I
 “have those grounds to believe the contrary,
 “that I shall run it down as a mistake, and
 “could desire that a more particular account of
 “your judgment may enable me to do it more
 “effectually. If I mis-remember not, your last
 “informed me of your having a licence to
 “preach publicly, but not of any episcopal or-
 “dination, much less the usual subscription, &c.
 “I do not know any in whose society I should
 “promise myself greater satisfaction, which is
 “all the apology I need make for being so in-
 “quisitive and urgent in this affair, of which your
 “answer will enable me to give you a more full
 “account. I beg your pardon for using this
 “freedom, and am &c.

J. Boyse.

To

of Mr. Thomas Emlyn.

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To this Mr. Emlyn return'd this Answer.

REV^d. SIR,

" I Must grant your information concerning my
" intentions to leave *Belfast* this summer is
" true, but I have not any thoughts of seeing
" *Dublin*, having a conveniency for passage at
" this port; I am sorry for your want of an
" assistant, and thank you for esteeming me
" worthy of that service, but that, which in part
" calls me from *Belfast*, will also hinder my fix-
" ing at *Dublin*, viz. some concerns in *Eng-*
" *land*.

" As for the rumor with you of my being
" addicted wholly to the church, it is so far true,
" that (as I wrote you before) I preached once
" every Lord's-day publicly; but you did very
" rightly understand me, that I had my license
" without ordination or subscription, for I had it
" without any condition, and I do not intend
" to take episcopal ordination, unless I could
" escape the subscription, or be reconciled to it,
" which I am not yet, nor think I shall be; but
" as for what concerns Lay-conformity with the
" church I can safely dispense with it, and do
" not scruple to preach either in a church or meet-
" ing, both which I would make one church,
" notwithstanding little differences and corrup-
" tions which I am not engaged in, and really
" (to use that freedom which you desire) how-
" ever I like the meetings in themselves, I should
" be loth to bring any people into sufferings by
" keeping them from church, when necessity
" requires, tho I know this takes no place at this
" time, nor will, I hope, hereafter. Tho I
" know some would call this temporizing, yet I
" know your charity and judgment will not ad-

" mit

“ mit that I mean so, but that it is what my
 “ judgment allows in point of conscience, not
 “ interest.

“ I have given you this hasty account of my
 “ thoughts only to satisfy your friendly request;
 “ and not that it concerns the people to know it;
 “ because I cannot comply with your desire to
 “ serve them, tho you may expect it in any
 “ any other thing from me, who am, &c.

T. E.

Accordingly he went not then to *Dublin*, but came directly for *England*. In his journeyings between *Ireland* and *London* he several times accepted of the invitation to preach in the parish churches of some towns he passed through, particularly at *Liverpool*, as he was standing at the door of his inn one *Saturday* evening, the Minister of the place, concluding by his garb, that he was a clergyman, desired him to give them a sermon the next day, which he accordingly did; and what was very remarkable, when he passed that way again some time afterwards that Minister was just dead, and being known by some of the parishioners who had heard him before, he was desired to preach there the next *Sunday*, which he did so much to their liking, that they offer'd to use their interest with the Patron to procure him the living, but this he declined.

When he was return'd to *London*, being at that time out of employment, he was invited by Sir *Robert Rich*, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, to his house near *Beccles* in *Suffolk*, and was by him prevailed on to officiate as Minister to a dissenting congregation at *Leostoff* in that county, which place he supplied for about a year and an half, but refused the invitation of being their
 Pastor;

May,
 1689.

Pastor; for as he approved not of ministers shifting and changing from one people to another, unless for some very weighty and necessary occasion, and not from lucrative motives, he determined not to accept the pastoral care but where he thought he should settle, and purposed to continue. Here also he cultivated a friendly correspondence with the parish minister, frequently taking several of his people along with him to church, and accompanying the said minister in collecting public charities; by this means a perfect harmony subsisted between the church and dissenters, and all animosities were banished and laid aside.

While here he contracted a very close and intimate acquaintance with Mr. *William Manning*, a very worthy Non-conformist Minister at *Peasenhall* in that neighbourhood: As they were both of an inquisitive temper, they frequently conferred together, and jointly examin'd into the principal points of religion, mutually communicating to each other their respective sentiments; which correspondence, notwithstanding the great distance they were afterwards separated to, was carried on by letters as long as Mr. *Manning* lived. Dr. *Sherlock's* book of the *Vindication of the Trinity* coming out about this time turn'd their thoughts very much to the consideration of that subject, which the more they examin'd into, the more they saw reason first to doubt of and afterwards to differ from the received doctrine in that article. Mr. *Manning* took to the *Socinian* way, and strove hard to bring Mr. *E.* into that way of thinking, but Mr. *E.* never could be brought to doubt either of the pre-existence of our Saviour, as the *Logos*, or that God created the material world by him. Upon these points they had many friendly debates, as I find by several letters now before

before me, but the *Socinian* sense appear'd to our Author so forced and unnatural, that he could by no means give into it; nor did he at any time afterwards incline to this opinion: and yet so rash, and daring are some in throwing out their scandal at all adventures, that upon occasion of his carrying a letter from Mr. *Whiston* to the Prolocutor of the lower house of convocation in the year 1711, he was without any regard to truth reflected on as a *Socinian Preacher* *.

K. *James* having fled into *France*, and almost all *Ireland* reduced by K. *William*, affairs began to settle in that kingdom, and the protestant congregations to re-assemble in large numbers. Upon this occasion Mr. *Boyse* again pressed Mr. *E.* to accept the pastoral care jointly with himself of that congregation at *Dublin*, and for that purpose wrote him a very earnest letter, which was sent to Mr. *Nathanael Taylor*, minister at *Salter's-hall, London*, who sent it inclosed in one of his own to *Leostoff*. Mr. *Boyse's* letter was as follows.

Dublin, Sept. 22. 1690.

DEAR SIR,

“ The congregation are all satisfied
 “ of the present necessity of my having a colleague;
 “ but about that there are two difficulties occur,
 “ the one relates to Mr. *Williams*, of whose re-
 “ turn some are not willing to despair; the other
 “ to the encouragement. For the first, I am so
 “ fully persuaded in my own thoughts, that Mr.
 “ *Williams* will never return to settle here, where
 “ he can neither make the same figure nor meet
 “ with

* See Dr. *Allix's* Answer to Mr. *Whiston's* Reply, p. 31. Mr. *Whiston's* second Reply thereto, p. 43. and his Account of the proceedings of the Convocation, p. 31.

“ with half the encouragement he does in *London*,
 “ that I think any one may safely venture over
 “ without any apprehension of being displaced by
 “ him; and the wisest part of the people are of
 “ the same opinion, and I am sure his not re-
 “ turning will not induce any to leave the con-
 “ gregation. For the other difficulty I have
 “ only this to offer, that I shall secure you as
 “ good encouragement, even for the first year,
 “ and probably far better than you have where
 “ you now labour without any assistance; and I
 “ doubt not but the encouragement will consi-
 “ derably increase, when the country is intirely
 “ reduced, and begins to be replanted: for as
 “ the congregation is already growing, (our
 “ Lord’s-day auditory being seldom less than a
 “ thousand, if not more) so I doubt not it will
 “ be much more numerous the next summer, and
 “ rather fear being over-prest with than wanting
 “ auditors —————

“ Having given you this just account of our
 “ case, I have only this one thing to add, that
 “ your having once preached to our congre-
 “ gation has left on their minds so lasting a sense
 “ of your very valuable gifts, that I could men-
 “ tion none to them, whom they knew, so uni-
 “ versally acceptable, so that there will be no
 “ doubt of your being received with all the satis-
 “ faction a people can have in a Pastor, and all
 “ the respect and gratitude they can express to
 “ him. And now I must not only beg you to
 “ take these things into your serious considera-
 “ tion, (and may the great God direct your
 “ thoughts) but to bring the matter to as short a
 “ determination, as you can, with yourself, that
 “ I may in a few posts understand your mind.
 “ And as I hope both your judgment and incli-
 “ nation will concur in this hearty motion, so the
 “ sooner

Memoirs of the Life

“ sooner you come the better, begging you to
 “ believe, that you can come here welcomer to
 “ none than to

“ Your, &c.

J. Boyse.

This letter was seconded by Mr. Taylor's, in which it was inclosed.

London, Sept. 30. 1690.

DEAR SIR,

“ THE inclosed came to my hands last night
 “ with a request to dispatch it to you by
 “ the first opportunity. I perceive by Mr. Boyse's
 “ letter to me, that the hearts of the whole con-
 “ gregation are fix'd upon you, and they will
 “ not hear of any other, tho another worthy per-
 “ son hath been in nomination; but they are
 “ perfect strangers to him, tho not to you, they
 “ having formerly had a small taste of your abi-
 “ lities, which doth the more quicken their
 “ appetite. In short, Sir, *Dublin* is a very
 “ considerable post, where you are likely to
 “ be much more serviceable to the interest of
 “ Christ (which should be and I hope is your
 “ great design and mine) than in the present
 “ hole, where you are. Mr. Boyse is a most ex-
 “ cellent colleague on all accounts, beyond what I
 “ am able to say. Able divines at *Dublin* are
 “ very scarce, as I hear from other hands on the
 “ place. I think there is no fear of Mr. Wil-
 “ liams's return, for I believe he finds *London*
 “ the best air he ever breathed in; or if he
 “ should return, you can't fail of very desirable
 “ employment there. I suppose Mr. Boyse writes
 “ about the encouragement, which whatever it is
 “ at present, will without doubt daily increase as
 “ fast

of Mr. Thomas Emlyn.

1711

“ as fast as that city is re-peopled. Therefore on
“ the most serious consideration I do very much
“ incline to think this is an invitation that is by
“ no means to be slighted.

I am, &c.

Nath. Taylor.

Mr. E. being thus earnestly pressed, resolved to
accept the invitation, and wrote the following
answer to Mr. Boyse.

SIR,

“ I Received yours four days since, and tho’ the
“ affair you write about be deserving of long
“ consideration, yet because you desire a speedy
“ answer I send you this, viz. that since yourself
“ and the congregation have judged me worthy
“ of that charge to which you call me, I am not
“ backward to accept it; for as I have always de-
“ sired I might have more opportunity of service
“ than this small place I am in doth afford, so I
“ consider that if such as I (who know *Ireland*)
“ refuse to go thither, how much more must
“ they needs be neglected by others, who have
“ more objections to make against that *country*
“ than I have? But I cannot possibly come with
“ the speed you desire. ——— I could heartily
“ wish I might not be desired to leave *England*
“ till *April*, but if in reality you cannot be with-
“ out assistance from hence so long, it will urge
“ me to strive to get ready by *February*, if after
“ the receipt of these lines the people abide in
“ the same mind towards me: I desire to hear
“ shortly from you, and have no more to add;
“ but that you salute the brethren in my name
“ with all Christian respect; who I hope will con-
“ cur with me in their prayers, that if God direct

“ my way unto them, I may come in the ful-
 “ nefs of the blessings of the gospel of Christ, in
 “ whose work and service I am your fellow la-
 “ bourer, &c.

T. Emlyn.

In pursuance hereof he went over to *Dublin*, where he arrived *May 1691*, and became a settled Pastor along with Mr. *Boyse* to the congregation at *Wood-street* there. Here he soon came into great vogue, and was a popular and much admired preacher, for he not only had a portly presence, a strong clear voice, and a graceful delivery, but his discourses were for the most part very rational and persuasive, always concluding with somewhat serious and pathetical; this he thought the right way of teaching and instructing, and has often lamented that of late days the affectionate part has been so much neglected by those who enter most into the argumentative way; for tho he always thought meanly of moving the passions by little low arts of address, without any solid arguments to convince the mind, yet still he judged mere dry reasoning not very likely to produce the intended effect in the generality of hearers; for since we are constituted of body as well as soul, and endued with affections and passions (which have their use) as well as intellectual faculties, he thought that after laying a foundation in reason the affections were then properly made subservient to the understanding, and ought in important matters to be roused and excited to influence men to the practice of what their reason was before convinced of, and that it was not enough merely to demonstrate the great truths of religion; e. g. the rewards and punishments of a future state, but their hopes and fears were like-
 wise

wife to be awaken'd, that they might conform their actions to such convictions.

As to controversial points he seldom or never meddled with them in the pulpit; for thus I find him writing to his friend Mr. Manning: "I med- April 1.
dle not with any but practicals in preaching, 1697.
i. e. the *agenda* and *petenda*, and such only of
the *credenda*, as are contained in the Apostles
creed. I begin to think, that the greatest part
of controversial divinity about the covenants,
&c. is much like the various philosophical
hypotheses and theories, where men in the
dark are pleased with their ingenious roman-
ces, and if they can maintain, that so matters
may be, they soon conclude so they are and
must be, without authority, which in religion
must not pass. There is nothing I more sin-
cerely desire than right knowledge of impor-
tant truths; and it is some satisfaction, that I
am sure I am not biassed by interest or love to
worldly esteem, and if one err unwillingly
about the blessed *Jesus*, I should hope it may
be pardoned, tho it would sincerely grieve me
to promote any such thing. Methinks the
clouds and darkness, that surround us and
others, make this world an undesirable stage of
confusion. May I know God and Christ, so
as to love them and be transformed into a di-
vine likeness! and then surely the wish'd for
day will come, when that which is imperfect
shall be done away."

As to prayer few or none excell'd him in it, so serious and solemn without any thing mean or affected, so sublime and elevated without any flights of enthusiasm, in language fitted to raise the attention and engage the affections, and well expressive of that frame of mind, which be-

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comes humble supplicants, under a sense of their own sinfulness, frailty, and dependence, in addressing their great Creator, the supreme majesty of heaven and earth.

Besides his talents in the pulpit, he was a frequent and diligent visitor of the members of his congregation, imparting to them advice and instruction upon all occasions, and lived in great friendship and intimacy with his colleague Mr. *Boyse*, whose amiable qualities and excellent endowments render'd him well worthy of it, and to whom he was not wanting in giving marks of his disinterested regard for him.

In this congregation were several persons of rank and figure, as well as large fortunes; towards these he knew how to behave with decency and respect, without nauseous flattery or fulsome compliments, and also how to refuse or withstand what he thought unlawful, or unfit to comply with, without rudeness or ill-breeding; nay, in the rough work of reproof he had so happy a talent, that he could admonish without provoking, and raise resentment in the offender against himself without raising any against the monitor. No wonder, that with these qualifications he was held in great esteem.

Being thus settled at *Dublin*, he became acquainted there with Mrs. *Esther Bury*, who, tho' an usual attendant on the church service, invited by the fame of his preaching became his auditor. She was one of the daughters and coheiresses of Mr. *David Sollom*, a gentleman of a good estate in the county of *Meath*, and was at this time the wife of Mr. *Richard Cromleholme Bury*, a gentleman of a large estate near *Limrick*; who dying soon after left her a widow, with a good jointure. In this state she continued near three years, tho' she had many admirers, but in the year

Nov. 23.
1691.

of Mr. Thomas Emlyn.

xxi

year 1694 was married to Mr. *Emlyn*. Now he was arriv'd at the utmost of his desires, possessed of an easy fortune, lived in affluence and plenty, in a station of large and extensive usefulness, highly beloved by his people, and well respected by all who knew him.

In the year 1697 I find he had some thoughts of openly declaring his sentiments in relation to the Trinity, and breaking off from the congregation; for, says he, in a letter to Mr. *Manning*, Jan. 18, *I cannot hope to continue here in my present post, 1697. when once I have professed: but, on consideration, he thought it not his duty to do it abruptly, and throw himself out of a station of usefulness without some fair occasion, which he was resolved to embrace, as he afterwards did; for, says he, I was ever averse to any mean compliances against my light in such sacred matters.*

In 1701 it pleased providence to reverse the scene by making a mighty change in his condition, for towards the end of this year he lost his *Or. 13.* wife, for whom he had conceived an high esteem, and to whom he bore a most sincere and hearty affection, and ever spoke of with the greatest tenderness. Of her I find among his memorandums this character: "None that I know, *says he*, did *Vol. III.*
"out-shine her in the ornament of a meek and *P. 454.*
"quiet spirit, the glorious image of the Redeemer, and of so high price with God; she
"was a person of great prudence, amiable modesty, and compassionate inoffensive goodness,
"very fearful of offending God, and most constant in her daily secret attendance on him,
"would never wear gold or silver, rings or
"jewels, not wholly condemning them, but
"choosing rather to let them alone, being herein
"an exact transcriber of St. Peter's instruction, *Pet. 3.*
"to wives, *Whose adorning let it not be that outward* *3. 4.*

“ward one of plaiting the hair, and of wearing
 “of gold, or of putting on of apparel, but the hid-
 “den man of the heart in that which is not cor-
 “ruptible, even that of a meek and quiet spirit,
 “which is in the sight of God of great price.”

Dec. 3.

This was a very deep and sensible wound, as may be plainly perceiv'd from the discourse he preached and afterwards published on that occasion; but, as he observes in the preface to that discourse, it was a very proper preparative for the further trials he was still to go through, he *having less reason than ever to be fond of this life*. And now afflictions came thick and heavy upon him, for not only had he lost a young son a little before, but in about six weeks after it pleased God to remove his excellent mother; for thus I find him writing to a relation, who had sent him an account of it from *England*; “I find by yours, that the all-wise God is pleased to appoint me sorrow upon sorrow by removing a tender and excellent mother, so soon after the loss of a most amiable and loving wife. In this year I have lost, (if I may say so of the death of the righteous) a desirable young son, a wife, and mother; enough to teach me the vanity of all present things, and to draw my thoughts and desires into that world, whither they are translated; I am not much surprized at my mother’s death, because I expected it, and also know so much of that true worth, which cannot fail to have prepared her for happy advantages by it.”

June 1702.

However, considering what was soon to follow, their removal was certainly preventive of a great load of sorrow, which would have fallen on them, who were thus removed; for within half a year after came on the affair that occasion’d his leaving the congregation, of which he has given a full account

account in his Narrative, so that it will not be needful to repeat it here. I shall only observe, that as his dismissal was decreed at the *first* meeting of the ministers, so was it entirely their act, in which the people bore no part, but so affrighted were they at the horrid representation of the *Unitarian* notions, that they durst not gainsay it. All they could do was to desire a respite of this hasty sentence, and that some further time might be allow'd for consideration; for which purpose, and that his forbearing to preach might not be taken notice of, it was proposed that he should go for a while to *England*, which he accordingly did; but to no purpose, for so little of an healing temper did these ministers discover, that they ungenerously took this opportunity to make great out-cries, even from the pulpit, of heresy and blasphemy, and by virulent invectives did what they could to raise the popular odium against him, so that the people were now more terrified than before. While he was thus absent he receiv'd the following letter from Mr. *Boyse*, which I here produce as a specimen of his great candour and worth.

Dublin, Sept. 3. 1702.

DEAR SIR,

I Had yours of *August* the 16th, which I designed to have answered some time ago, but the load of business I have had on me, besides a continued indisposition, has till now prevented me. As to the contents of your last I communicated them to our consistory, who seem no way satisfied therewith, so that they were unanimous in their resolutions against your returning to the exercise of your ministry among them, while your judgment is unchanged; both because they look upon your

“ opinion it self as a dangerous error, and are
 “ unwilling that any flame of contention about
 “ it should break out here. And indeed the
 “ prejudices of most run so high, that unless you
 “ could *entirely* embrace the common faith, and
 “ even use the *common language*, your post here
 “ would be uneasy, were you re-admitted to it.

“ This afflictive providence has put me upon
 “ a serious review of this controversy, and I must
 “ confess to you I cannot see any just ground to
 “ recede from the common faith; and tho there
 “ are *many difficulties on both sides*, (which to be
 “ sure the generality of Christians are not aware of)
 “ yet I think those, which lie on the Unitarians,
 “ are the more insuperable, and most dangerous
 “ in their consequence. I cannot get over the
 “ argument from the worship due to our blessed
 “ Saviour; I am sure the same doxologies are

See Vol. I. p. 230.

Vol. I. p. 111. 117. 256. 257. 261.

Vol. I. p. 158.
 Dr. Bennet
 on the Tri-
 nity, p. 67, 68.

“ directed to him and the Father: I look on the
 “ Lord's-supper as peculiarly celebrated to his
 “ honour; and I think both the Scriptures and
 “ the reason of things appropriates all religious
 “ addresses to an invisible being to God, since in
 “ the nature of the thing they suppose an unlim-
 “ ited knowledge and presence in the being they
 “ are paid to. As to 2 *Phil.* 7, 8. I cannot ac-
 “ quiesce in your answer, it being clear to me,
 “ that *the form of a servant* does no way import
 “ Christ's sufferings, but the same with the *like-
 “ ness of sinful flesh*; for his sufferings are plainly
 “ mention'd afterwards as a distinct degree of his
 “ abasement, *being found in fashion as a man he
 “ humbled himself, and became obedient unto death,
 “ even the death of the cross.* So that your ex-
 “ position of that text seems to be somewhat
 “ forced.

“ I could be glad you would read *Placcus's*
 “ Disputations on that subject, which I take to

“ be

“ be solid and judicious, and he has, I think,
 “ fully confuted that exposition. But I see it is
 “ endless to enter into the detail of this unhappy
 “ controversy, which above all others I wish
 “ were buried in silence, as foreseeing no good
 “ to the interest of Christianity by the revival of
 “ it*. I truly fear you can expect little satisfaction
 “ in your stay here, and that it will be most
 “ prudent to provide for your settlement else-
 “ where. Our consistory have invited Mr. Wil-
 “ liams to return to his post here, but I think
 “ without any great expectation of his compli-
 “ ance, only thought, if he refused, he might
 “ at least assist us with his advice.

“ I heartily wish the spirit of truth may guide
 “ you into the truth, which I dare not believe
 “ but you truly seek, tho I cannot but believe
 “ also, that you do at present deviate from it.
 “ I am

“ Your most sincere well-wisher,

J. Boyse.

Notwithstanding this letter Mr. E. thought it
 requisite to return to *Dublin* in order to settle
 some family affairs, and not with design to make
 any disputes or disturbance among them, being
 resolved quietly to submit to this determination,
 altho being one of the trustees to whom the lease
 of the meeting-house was assigned, he had as
 much property therein as any one: there were
 between twenty and thirty other trustees, yet it so
 happen'd that he survived them all, and the legal
 title of that meeting-house, from whence he was
 so unworthily ejected, came at last to be solely
 vested in himself.

The

* And yet in Pref. to his Answer he blames Mr. E. for not
 having more early and openly declared his opinions.

The Ministers of *Dublin* (from whom I would always be understood to except Mr. *Boyse*) were of a very different temper from the noble *Bereans*, who *searched the scriptures daily whether these things were so*; for as they had made but very small inquiries and examination into the reasons of the faith, so were they of narrow contracted minds, overrun with bigotry and violent zeal, the natural consequence of a warm imagination and little knowledge : and tho Mr. *Boyse* was greatly concerned at the turn which this affair took, yet was it not only unfriendly to publish his answer at that juncture, while the prosecution was depending, but very unjustifiable so groundlessly to reflect on Mr. *Emlyn*'s sincerity, and by head and shoulders to lug in another book *, in which Mr. *E.* had no more concern than Mr. *B.* only to give occasion for some invidious remarks, for which he could not find any handle in our Author's own performance ; and tho I am satisfied it was far from Mr. *B.*'s intentions, yet in fact it contributed much to increase the odium, which had been already unjustly stirred up against Mr. *E.* In his answer he insinuates an apprehension of a reply, wherein *his arguments would not be treated with fairness and candor, but only flirted at with superficial dashes of a scornful unballowed wit, in which case he should not think himself concerned in it.* Let any one read the book he writes against, and see whether he had any reason to suggest such an apprehension, or whether such suggestion itself be not destitute of candor ; but when our *Author's Reply* came out, tho wrote with great fairness, and free from those *flirts and dashes*, which he seemed to fear, yet Mr. *Boyse* was so sick of the controversy, that he thought not proper to make any rejoinder thereto.

And

* Intitled, *The scandal and folly of the cross removed.*

And here I cannot help observing how the wise are oft caught in their own craftiness, and the means designed for one purpose are frequently turned to effect the quite contrary. It seems the great motive of these *Dublin* Ministers zeal was to prevent the people being perverted from the common faith, and to put an effectual stop to these errors *; but how did it succeed? The consequence was, that it put Mr. E. under a kind of necessity of writing his *Humble Inquiry*, &c. in order to lay before the world the reasons and arguments, which had induced him to embrace those opinions. This, through the intemperate heat of some Dissenters, exposed him to a furious prosecution; and this occasioned the controversy to be more publicly known and more thoroughly look'd into, and in sober considerate minds raised an indignation against those who made use of such violent unchristian methods; besides, as our Author was by this means thrown out of the employment of a pastoral care and stated preaching, it gave him more leisure, and probably might make him think it more his duty to apply his time and labour to the vindicating these important truths against such as opposed them: the result of which has been, that those supposed errors, instead of being effectually stoppt, have spread far and near; and what they call the common faith is well nigh exploded, except by those who find worldly advantages in maintaining it.

The Dissenters having started the game, the church party presently joined them in pursuing it with heat and violence, and halloo'd the secular power to exert all its force in running him down and worrying him.

The Dissenters on the grand jury were eager for making a presentment of the book, and one of

* See Vol. I. p. 51. and Four *London* Ministers p. 7.

of them †, to make sure work of it, was not contented with that, but went directly for the Chief Justice's warrant, by virtue of which he seized the Author and impression.

Several Bishops, especially the Archbishops of *Armagh* and *Dublin*, were not wanting to give all the encouragement they could to the prosecution; and the more to animate the proceedings, came themselves to the trial, as if the cause of the church (so oft made a stalking-horse to deceive the vulgar) was at stake. To this appearance of the Bishops I in good measure impute the arbitrary and illegal behaviour of *C. J. Pine*, who by some letters I have seen was a man inclined to moderation, and so professed himself, when among his friends on this side the water; but he perceived he was doing what was acceptable to the governing ecclesiastics, and that probably induced him to break through the bounds of law and justice to gratify these fiery zealots; for as *Sir Richard Levins* told our author before the trial, it was a thing resolved on *to run him down like a wolf without law or game*; and this too plainly appeared by what followed, in that they did not observe the rules of natural justice required in all courts and proceedings, nor the rules of evidence as to the fact, nor the rules of law as to the adjudication of the crime, nor legal measures in the sentence.

1. It was clearly against natural justice to refuse to hear the party in his own defence, especially in a criminal proceeding; and yet this was peremptorily denied Mr. *E.* a thing never before refused by any judge of tolerable candour or equity;

† This was Mr. *Caleb Thomas*, who was afterwards thrown into jail for debt, and died in the same prison, where our Author underwent his confinement.

quity ; this is a necessary requisite in all cases, and whenever the court of King's Bench is moved to set aside any orders of justices or the like, the denial hereof is of itself sufficient reason for granting such motion.

2. The rules of legal evidence were not observed, for tho I dispute not but strong presumptive circumstances may be sufficient to convict a criminal, yet no such circumstances were proved in this case.

The bare having the impression of a book in one's custody, tho it may be a corroborating circumstance to strengthen other evidence, is not of itself sufficient proof of a publication, much less of being the author ; and yet this was in effect the whole of the evidence ; for as to the printer, his testimony went no farther than that he received one half sheet of the copy from Mr. E. and even this he knew not whose hand it was, nor did that half sheet contain the passages laid in the indictment.

Indeed Mr. *Boyse* was called upon to do the hard and mean part of deposing in court what discourse had privately passed between the Ministers and Mr. E. not as to the book, (for that was not then printed) but as to his opinions, which he said were judged to be near to *Arianism*. But surely this was never before allowed in any court of justice to be evidence either of publication or being the author. Hard indeed would be the fate of any man, if he must be adjudged either publisher or author, because the book contains some things, which happen to agree with the sentiments he had before expressed in private conversation, even tho such book be found in his possession.

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I mean not hereby to raise any doubt of his being the author, which was the real truth, and so far from a reproach, that it was to his distinguished honour, both the writing it and suffering so courageously for it; but only that it is no excuse for finding a verdict without proper evidence, that it happen to prove true in fact. The publication was in good measure prevented by the Chief Justice's warrant, till the time of the trial, when the impression being brought into court, several of the counsel and others being desirous of looking into it, snatched each of them one for himself, which the C. J. taking notice of reproved them, saying, *We are trying a person for publishing a libel, and at the same time are publishing it ourselves.*

3. As to the adjudication of the crime, this was the main and principal question, to which the C. J. would not suffer Mr. E. to make any defence. There is no crime known in our law by the formal name of *blasphemy*, the legal term is a *libel* with the epithet of *blasphemous*. Now I will be bold to affirm, there is nothing contained in that tract, which could bring it within the legal notion of a *libel*, much less a *blasphemous* one. This being an indictment at common law, and not on any statute, could be supported only by precedents, which come up to the point, at least in parity of reason; none such were shewn, and I dare say none such could be produced. To make it such, it is not enough, that it be heterodox or erroneous, (for in all differences of opinion one side must be so) but the words must be spoken or written with a *malicious* design of reproach upon God or religion, and so it is charged in the indictment, and this was manifestly the case of that impertinent precedent of *Taylor*, but that it was not the case of
Mr.

Mr. E. every body, who had the least knowledge of him, must believe, and plainly appears both from the *matter* and *manner* of his writing.

1. As to the *matter*, it is undeniable, that the same things are said in as strong or stronger terms, both by the primitive Fathers *Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, &c.* and also by the Moderns *Calvin, Zanchius, Cudworth, Fowler, Petavius, Huetius, Bull, Pearson, &c.* and even Mr. *Boyse* and Dr. *Waterland* †, not

* See *Cudw. Intellect. Syst. p. 599.*

† To cite the particular places of these Authors would be endless, I shall therefore only mention a few, which I think may have most weight. As to the first paragraph charged in the indictment, *I see no reason there will be to oppose those Unitarians, who think him to be a sufficient Saviour and Prince, tho he be not the only supreme God*, one would have thought that this expression had been modest and inoffensive enough; however in support thereof I shall only cite the epistle to the *Heb. 7. 25. Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost who come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them*; where his ability to save is expressly grounded upon his making *intercession*, which surely is not an office, that belongs to the supreme God. And *Acts 5. 31.* says St. *Peter, Him hath God exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour*; surely it was not the supreme God, who was thus exalted: so that these texts, if they do not directly assert, do evidently suppose him a sufficient Prince and Saviour, without being the supreme God: But what a monstrous thing is it, that in a Christian country the asserting Christ to be a *sufficient Saviour*, in whatever capacity it be meant, should be charged as *blasphemy*!

Nor is the charge less absurd with respect to the next paragraph, *Nor can any with reason attempt to prove him to be such from his works and office as King of his church, since it is implied that as such he must do homage to God the Father in delivering up his kingdom to him.* These words only deny the conclusiveness of one kind of argument made use of by some to prove the supreme godhead of the Son; and if I mistake not, the answerer Mr. *Boyse* does so too, for he denies that Christ's reign as mediator includes his highest character, p. 34. and acknowledges that in respect of his mediatorial kingdom he is inferior to the Father, p. 31.

The like may be said with regard to the other Passages charged in the indictment. Dr. *Waterland* Def. p. 8. 9. says, that

not to mention others who have expressly wrote on the same side with our Author, such as Dr. Clarke, Mr. Whiston, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Pearce, Mr. Tomkins, &c. who yet have met with no such cruel persecution under pretence of blasphemy. Indeed some of the post-nicene Fathers, and Moderns above-mentioned, have also said several things inconsistent therewith; but still it proves what I bring them for, viz. that the passages in our Author's book could not be *materially* blasphemy, since the orthodox themselves

that the Father is primarily and emphatically the only true God, and p. 42. This character, since the distinction of persons has been revealed to us, has been in a more eminent and peculiar manner reserved to the Father; that is, ever since it could be so reserved, for I see not how it could be reserved peculiarly to the Father before the revelation of any other person. Bp. Pearson on the Creed, p. 35. says, *What the Father is, he is from none; what the Son is, he is from him. The first is a Father indeed by reason of his Son, but he is not God by reason of him; whereas the Son is not so only in regard of the Father, but also God by reason of the same.* Is not this tantamount to saying, *there is no God the Son in the same sense with the Father?* Bp. Fowler is rather more express, for his tenth proposition is, *Since the Father alone is a being of the most absolute perfection, he having those perfections which the other two persons are incapable of having, he alone is God in the absolute highest sense.*

Calvin on John 14. 28. expressly interprets those words, *My Father is greater than I*, of Christ's divine nature; These words, says Bp. Pearson on the Creed, p. 34. are interpreted by the ancients of Christ, as the second Person in the blessed Trinity. Zanchius in his epistle to John Wilhelm Struck, says, *It is not impious to affirm of him, who is God of God, that he is inferior to him, who is not God of God, but has his deity of himself.* And Mr. Boyse, p. 24. says, *That our Lord Jesus in respect of the eternal generation of his divine person is inferior to the Father.* Now as all sides agree that the divine nature of Christ is his highest capacity, how come these expressions to be so innocent and orthodox in these Authors, and yet be no less than wilful malicious blasphemy in Mr. E. to say, that *Jesus Christ in his highest capacity is inferior to the Father?*

themselves found it necessary to say the same, what-
ever salvoes they might afterwards have recourse
to, to reconcile them with their other assertions.

2. As to the *manner* there was as little, or if
possible less foundation to lay this charge upon
him; for no one who reads the book, or was at
all acquainted with his character, can in the least
suspect it to be wrote with the *malicious* wicked
intention charged in the indictment, and necessary
to constitute the offence, *viz.* of throwing re-
proach and contempt upon our blessed Saviour:
for besides that it was plain he could have no
interest to serve by it, it was well known to be
quite opposite to his temper and disposition.

On the contrary it appears to be wrote with the
greatest gravity and seriousness; there is nothing
which has the least colour of ludicrousness or pro-
faneness, no words of reproach, not even on his
adversaries suppositions, a thing too common,
tho very blame-worthy, in the writers on the
other side the question. No, he dared not to
say, with Mr. *Abbadie*, that *Christianity is a farce*
and Mahomet every way preferable to Jesus Christ;
nor with Mr. *Trosse* of *Exeter*, that he must be
nothing, less than nothing; nor with the four
London Ministers, that *he was an underling, and*
under the curse of Cham; nor with Dr. *Calamy*,
that *he is an insufficient Saviour, not worth con-*
tending for, or trusting in; nor with Dr. *Water-*
land, that the Father must have an absolute right
to *compel, constrain, punish and bridle him at plea-*
sure. No, his reverence for the holy Jesus with-
held him from using such opprobrious language
on any hypothesis. Quite otherwise, even in that
very tract, for which he was prosecuted, he ex-
presses himself thus; “ I write this under the se-

“ rious impressions of those great relations, in

“ which the blessed *Jesus* stands to me, whom
 “ I credit as my great *teacher*, whom I desire to
 “ admire and love as my gracious endeared *bene-*
 “ *factor* beyond father and mother and friends,
 “ &c. whom I reverence as my *Lord* and ruler, and
 “ solemnly expect as my final glorious *Judge*, who
 “ is to come in his own and his Father’s glory,
 “ and in the mean time deal with God through
 “ him, as my *only Mediator* and intercessor.”

One would have thought, that as there was no ground to question the sincerity of this profession, there could be none to impute that crime to him, which the indictment charges; so that however the jury might happen right in finding him the author of that book, they were certainly very faulty in finding, that he wrote it, *blasphemously, falsely, and maliciously*; which from the known character of Mr. E. I cannot think any of them could believe, and without which it was not criminal.

Add to this the illegal threatening of the jury; for I can esteem it no other, when the C. J. having given them their charge in a very angry partial manner, concluded with telling them, *if they acquitted him, my Lords the Bishops were there*; (which shows for what purpose they were present) and when the jury were withdrawn to consider of their verdict, and had some demur among themselves, he sent to hasten them with this message; that *if they did not come quickly, he would not wait for them*.

4. The sentence was all of a piece with the rest of the proceedings, without any reasonable measure severe, quite disproportionate to the Defendant’s circumstances, as well as to the supposed offence; a *thousand pounds* fine, and *imprisonment* for a whole year certain. How much more moderate

moderate have the courts here been with respect to libels really prophane and scurrilous! especially if it be consider'd, that a thousand pounds at that time in that country may fairly be reckon'd equivalent to double the sum now in *England*. So that upon the whole, it was not without ground, that one of the counsel told the Solicitor-general, *he believed he had never seen such a prosecution, since he had been at the bar.*

It is a further aggravation, that all this was for a principle of judgment, else why did the Solicitor-general move that he might *retract*? If it had been real blasphemy, like the case of *Taylor*, quoted for a precedent, what would retracting signify? He might indeed (and in such a case it would well become him) express his sorrow and repentance, but retracting supposes it to be matter of opinion; and that they knew full well was the case here, for it was not an upstart notion, but had been long agitated in the Christian church for many ages, by men of learning and piety on both sides. Since then they wanted him to *retract*, why did they not use the proper methods of reason and argument? One would have thought, if a regard for the honour of Christ had been the real motive, they would have been earnest in such methods as might tend to work a change of sentiments, but these they never attempted: The methods of worldly force and violence they liked better. Were these proper arguments to alter his judgment? Or could any man honestly retract, if his judgment was still the same? It seems hypocrisy and dissimulation would have been more pleasing to them, than differing in opinion with the greatest honesty and sincerity. *But none of these things moved him, neither counted he his life dear unto Acts 20. himself, so that he might finish his course with joy, 24. and the ministry which he had received of the Lord*

Jesus. He had the true spirit of a martyr; being firmly resolved that neither life nor death, poverty nor abundance, restraint nor liberty should make him act against the dictates of his conscience or betray his integrity; nor was he ashamed of the disgrace he was exposed to, since he *knew in whom he trusted*, and that he *suffer'd as a Christian and not as an evil doer.*

1 Tim. 1.

12.

1 Pet. 4.

16.

Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent.

And yet he was far from that enthusiastic zeal and heated imagination, which inspires some with a false ambition of courting sufferings and trouble. No, as resolved as he was to hold fast his integrity, and upon no account to let it go, he was always open to reason and argument, and content to do any thing to divert his sufferings, which with a good conscience was possible for him to do.

If any thing could have prevailed with him to have made so much as a seeming recantation, I have often heard him say, it was the solicitations and persuasions of his friends, with whose kind concern for him he was much affected; and indeed a truly generous temper is much more likely to be moved by such gentle methods than by those of violence; for these are apt to soften the mind and make tender impressions, and as they are less suspected, so they are less watched and guarded against. But there is something so preposterous and absurd, so grating and unnatural in attempting to *force* the understanding and conscience, that in a man of any spirit, whose conscience is not a common prostitute, it creates the utmost disdain and aversion, and rouses all his faculties and powers to oppose such outrageous attempts.

It

It is to this prosecution of Mr. *Emlyn*, that Sir *Richard Steele* refers in his Dedication to the Pope, prefixt to his *Account of the state of the Roman Catholic religion*, which is so genteel a sarcasm on those proceedings, that I cannot forbear setting them down in his own words :
 “ Sometimes, *says he*, we of the established
 “ church can manage a *prosecution* (for I must
 “ not call it a *persecution*) ourselves, without call-
 “ ing in any other help. But I must do the
 “ *Dissenting Protestants* the justice to say, that
 “ they have shown themselves upon occasion,
 “ very ready to assist us in so pious and christian
 “ a work, as bringing *Heretics* to their right
 “ mind ; being themselves but very lately come
 “ from experiencing the convincing and enligh-
 “ tening faculty of a *dungeon* or a *fine*. The dif-
 “ ference between these two sorts of persons is
 “ this : The *one* differ from us about *ceremonies*
 “ of worship and government, but they boggle
 “ not at all at the *doctrine* settled for us by our
 “ first Reformers : it is all with them right and
 “ good, just as Christ left it at first, and *Calvin*
 “ found it above fifteen hundred years after-
 “ wards. The *others*, unhappy men, look upon
 “ this to be straining at a gnat and swallowing a
 “ camel. However, the *former* sort having a
 “ toleration for their own way, upon subscribing
 “ all our doctrines, can the more easily come to
 “ persuade themselves, that the Christian world
 “ is unhinged, if the *latter* should be tolerated
 “ in their opposition to doctrines, which have
 “ been called *fundamental*, even by Protestants,
 “ for so many years.
 “ This hath been experienced particularly in
 “ *Ireland* by *One* who could not see exactly what
 “ they saw about the nature of Christ before his
 “ appearance in this world. For as with you, a
 “ man

“ man had better blaspheme Almighty God, than
 “ not magnify the Blessed Virgin, so with many
 “ of us it is much more innocent and less ha-
 “ zardous to take from the glory of the Father,
 “ than of his Son. Nay, to bring down the
 “ Father to a level with his own Son is a com-
 “ mendable work, and the applauded labour of
 “ many learned men of leisure; but to place the
 “ Son below his own Father in any degree of
 “ real perfection, this is an unpardonable error;
 “ so unpardonable, that all hands were united
 “ against that unhappy man; and he found at
 “ length, that he had much better have viola-
 “ ted all God’s commandments, than have inter-
 “ preted some passages of Scripture differently
 “ from his brethren. The *Non-conformists* ac-
 “ cused him, the *Conformists* condemned him,
 “ the *Secular power* was called in, and the cause
 “ ended in an *imprisonment* and a *very great fine*;
 “ two methods of conviction about which the
 “ gospel is silent.”

Being thus run down with violence and oppres-
 sion which he could not withstand, and being de-
 termined never to comply with any thing, which
 might violate the peace of his own mind, he con-
 tentedly submitted to the indignities put upon
 him, and bore his sufferings with that patience
 and magnanimity, which will be an everlasting
 honour to him, while the names and memory of
 his persecutors will be cover’d with eternal in-
 famy and reproach. The best excuse I can make
 for them is, that these matters were transacted in
 the days of ignorance and in a land of darkness,
 where literature had made but a small proficiency,
 and bigotry and superstition had got the better of
 common sense and plain Christianity.

The *one* of these most reverend Fathers had
 not a little plumed himself on his liberal bene-
 factions

factions to the church, and the *other* was swollen with pride and conceit of his own imaginary knowledge, while yet they seemed both ignorant of the first principles of humanity, as well as of the fundamental characteristic of a Christian; how else could they combine together to the ruin and destruction of their innocent neighbour, to injure him in his liberty and fortune, who had never done them any wrong? and all this for no other reason, but because he differ'd from them in his explication of an article of the Christian faith, and proposed his opinion to the world with all the seriousness and gravity of a sincere Christian. To wrong him in this manner, tho' under pretence of zeal for religion and under colour of law, is no more to be justified than open violence and robbery; nay, this latter would have been the less injury of the two, and brought less reproach upon religion.

How could they reconcile their conduct with the words of St. *John*, *If a man say I love God and hateth his brother, he is a liar?* Now if the *John 4.* bare withholding *this world's goods, when he seeth* *20.* *his brother in need, and shutting up his bowels of* *John 3.* *compassion from him,* be inconsistent with the love *17.* of God, how much more is it so to despoil him of his *goods*, and deprive him of his *liberty*? And that he was a *brother* and ought to have been so accounted by them, appears from the same Apostle, who declares, that *whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him* *John 4.* *and he in God.* All that was requisite in St. *John's* *15.* judgment, was the confessing Jesus to be the *Son* *John 16.* *of God,* and this our Author made not the least doubt of, firmly believing him to be the *Son of God*, owning him for his Lord and Master, and *John 20.* in sincerity of heart obeying his commandments.

Let not any think I have treated the promoters of this prosecution too severely, since *hypocrisy*

31.
6. 69.
11. 27.

and *cruelty* are the most odious vices in the sight of God, as well as most destructive of the peace and happiness of men. Our Lord himself, who was meek and lowly of spirit, and who mildly rebuked the erroneous *Sadducees*, forbore not sharply to reprimand the proud, conceited, and hypocritical *Pharisees*.

That men should take upon themselves the character of *Fathers of the Church*, and yet in their practices imitate the *children of Belial*, should pretend a zeal for the honour of Christ and his religion, and yet contradict it in the most essential branches of love and charity; I say, be such men never so *orthodox* in their faith, never so *liberal* in their alms, be they endued with never so great *knowledge*, neither their orthodoxy, their alms, nor their knowledge will avail them; for in St. *Paul's* account, tho they have *faith to remove mountains*, should *understand all mysteries and all knowledge*, and should *bestow all their goods to feed the poor, and have not charity*, i. e. love, or an affectionate kind disposition, it shall *profit them nothing*. This however must be allowed, that tho they set up for *Rabbies* and teachers in the Christian church, yet *they knew not what manner of spirit they were of*, nor how contrary it was to the spirit of Christ.

I am very sensible, and thanks be to God for it, that we now live under a milder government, which has a more just sense of the rights of conscience, and a greater regard for the liberties of mankind; but still I think such practices should never be mention'd without detestation and abhorrence, since God only knows how soon he may for our sins permit us to be again brought under this yoke of bondage; and I have the rather done it, because this spirit is not yet wholly laid,

laid, not even among Dissenters; for I am informed, that very lately near *Exeter* some have been encouraged in a violent and tumultuous manner, repeatedly to disturb their brethren in the exercise of their religious liberties*; and if they do thus, when they have no countenance therein from the civil magistrate, what would they do, or rather what would they not do, if they had power in their hands?

Our Author being, pursuant to his sentence, cast into prison, had now leisure to reflect a little upon that great change of his circumstances, which so short a time had brought about, and which no doubt occasion'd many anxious thoughts and melancholy forebodings; but what were then the workings of his mind are easier to be imagined than described: some of them I find were by himself committed to writing, which I knew not of till I found them among his papers after his decease; and as they cannot now be suspected of vanity or ostentation, it was thought not improper to insert them here, that it may be seen under what serious impressions he was, while suffering for that cause wherein he was engaged, and how unworthy of that barbarous and unmanly usage he met with from all quarters.

See the
Appendix
hereto,
N^o I.

During his imprisonment he wrote *General Remarks* on Mr. *Boyse's* book, and also a *particular Answer* on the head of *Worship*, and sent them to

* This refers to the case of the Rev. Mr. *Batten*, at *Autery* in *Devonshire*, who by reason of the Clerk's omitting to give out some *Athanasian* doxologies, which had been formerly used, was several times, according to my information, quite stoppt and prevented from the exercise of his function by a company of rude youths, who were set to work by some Dissenters of note, to sing them out aloud, while the Minister was in his prayer, on purpose to disturb the public worship; by which means they have in a manner forced that worthy Pastor from his people.

to a friend in *England*; but under his then circumstances he thought it not prudent to set his name to it, for which reason in those tracts he speaks of himself in the third person. When he afterwards came over to *England*, his friend was dead, and the former of those books was somehow mislaid, that he look'd on it as quite lost, nor was it found till a long while after; and this was the cause why it was not printed in his life-time.

While in prison, he was confined within the walls thereof, and in a manner almost to his own room, there being no rules or liberties there, nor such conveniencies as in many prisons in *England*; indeed when he was removed to the *Marshalsea*, there was on the side of that prison a small waste piece of ground, which led, without any door or inclosure between, into the street; into this piece of ground there was a back-door from the prison, of which through the particular favour of the gaoler he was permitted to keep a key, that he might walk and exercise himself therein whenever he thought fit; and tho by these means he might, if he had been so minded, have both escap'd himself, and also let out the other prisoners, yet his great care and faithfulness shewed him not unworthy of this confidence; so that what is said of *Joseph*, *Gen.* 39. 21, 22. might truly be said of him, *The Lord shewed him mercy, and gave him favour in the sight of the keeper of the prison, and the keeper of the prison committed to his hand all the prisoners that were in the prison.*

His friends in *England* were not wanting in trying all methods for his release, and made use of their interest every where to obtain it, but to little purpose; for as Mr. Secretary *Southwell* told One of them*, who applied to him to intercede

* Capt. Henry Hedworth.

mercede for him, he had made himself more odious in general than any other malefactors, so that robbers or house-breakers might sooner find an intercessor for them than he; and as that same friend writes, *Suffering on account of religion, which is the most pitiable case, puts the sufferer farther from favour than any other.*

Another difficulty was thrown in the way by several of the clergy, who petition'd for a grant of this fine, some for the re-building a parish church, and others for making some addition or repairs to the college; but finding, as I suppose, that such a grant was not like to turn to much account, these petitions were prudently dropt; and at length after above two years imprisonment by long and frequent solicitations the Lord Lieutenant's favour was obtain'd, and the fine reduced, as mention'd in the Narrative, upon payment whereof he was set at liberty.

The then
Duke of
Ormond.

Mr. Boyse joined heartily in promoting several applications in his behalf, of which Mr. E. always retain'd a very grateful sense; but as for the other Ministers, and the upper rank of his people, tho' one would have thought this mighty change of condition should have soften'd the most obdurate heart and moved compassion in the bitterest enemy, yet to such a pitch of uncharitable hatred were they arrived, so harden'd against the tenderest workings of humanity, as not to vouchsafe him one single visit, or shew the least spark of kindness or good-nature towards him; as I more particularly learn by a letter he wrote in answer to One, that desired to know *how his former acquaintance behaved towards him.* "They use, says he, the most exasperating language to render me odious. Mr. Boyse, I believe, is not pleased with what some have done, and is ready to act for my relief, whom I have some times

July 1704.

“ times seen, (tho I think but once for near half
 “ a year past) in my imprisonment; but as to all
 “ the *other* ministers with whom I lived above
 “ eleven years in brotherhood, as they never
 “ once were at the pains to discourse me, (ex-
 “ cepting when I met them on the first disco-
 “ very of my judgment) so I never found the
 “ least remains of charity or humanity from
 “ them. I never had one visit from any of
 “ them, nay they do what they can to hinder
 “ others from that little instance of charity itself.
 “ There are several honest-hearted plain people
 “ of the lower rank, who express much more of
 “ christian charity than their teachers, and
 “ would still be friendly; but for any of the
 “ fashionable people, (who must be modish)
 “ there are not two, that I remember, from
 “ whom I have had either a visit or a kind mes-
 “ sage, or any sort of friendly respect, any more
 “ than if I had turned a common robber or mur-
 “ derer, whatever intimacy I had with them be-
 “ fore. I write not this under the heat of pas-
 “ sion, which may well be cooled by thirteen
 “ months imprisonment, nor had I wrote at all,
 “ but that you are pleased to inquire of me
 “ about it.

“ I should not charge so much on the *Dissen-*
 “ *ters* here in general, but that the most forward
 “ actors against me are still countenanced as
 “ rulers and officers in their churches, which
 “ shows the general sense of their churches to
 “ be, that *persecution* is no scandalous crime,
 “ since the promoters of it are men of the highest
 “ esteem and place with them.

“ I thank God I am not disposed to take re-
 “ venge, if it were in my power; but I pray
 “ that it be not laid to their charge at the last
 “ day. Nor am I moved with these things,
 “ nor

“ nor stagger’d in my faith, by the hellish spirit
 “ that rages against me. I hope God will ena-
 “ ble me to sit down in calm patience, neither
 “ fretting nor wondering at the world’s hatred,
 “ while I suffer for truth as I think, and for
 “ conscience I am sure.”

By this it may be seen how little solicitous
they were for the real promoting of truth, who
 took no pains to reduce their wandering brother
 into the right way, and how free *he* was from all
 revengeful thoughts towards his most violent ad-
 versaries; he was not disposed to retaliate upon
 any, who, without the least provocation, had
 injured him in so heinous a manner; tho he was
 indeed desirous to expose their base unchristian
 practices, and would gladly have shamed them out
 of them by shewing their mischievous tendency;
 nor was it without some success, since he lived to see
 the time, when the treatment he met with, however
 gloried in then by *some*, has been since condemned
 by almost *all*; upon which occasion it is not im-
 proper to remark what his foremention’d friend
 writes in that letter, to which the above was an
 answer: “ *Peter Heylin*, I remember, reflects July 1,
 “ upon *Calvin* and the Reformers for the execu- 1704.
 “ tion done upon *Servetus*; perhaps the time
 “ may come, wherein they may be upbraided
 “ with the sufferings of Mr. *Emlyn*.”

Soon after his release Mr. *Emlyn* returned to
London, where a few friends gather’d a small
 congregation, to whom he preach’d once every
Sunday, that he might, if possible, be employ’d
 in some degree of usefulness, and this he did
 without salary or stipend, altho (his wife being
 dead, and her jointure gone with her, and her
 estate come to her children) his fortune was re-
 duced to a small income; with which however
 he

he was well contented, and always appear'd chearful and easy, for in his highest state and most plentiful circumstances, he affected not grandeur nor riches, nor ever encouraged the desire of them in any of his descendents. He knew full well, that the arts of ambition, the usual steps to great preferments, as well as the thorns and cares, with which they are surrounded, when obtained, generally rob men of a comfort more true and solid, than any they can give in exchange for it. A moderate competency, so as to furnish out the necessary and ordinary conveniences of life, and to place the owner above want and servile dependence was all he aimed at, thinking him the happiest man, who had the fewest wants, for thus I find him speaking in some of his memorandums: “ *Quàm multa sunt quibus non indigeo!*

“ said *Socrates* wisely in a great market. Such a
 “ philosophical genius, as raised on a mount,
 “ looks down with pity and disdain on the little
 “ emperors and princes of the earth, who are
 “ scrambling and scratching one the other about
 “ little toys and trifles. Oh, how many things
 “ do they want? One wants millions, another
 “ such a country, &c. while the modest mortified
 “ Christian wants nothing; he has nothing
 “ and yet possesses all things; but the grandee
 “ is just the contrary, having many things he
 “ possesses none. Well, but it is brave to have
 “ much lands, great equipage and numerous attendants,
 “ which others want: No, it is *they*
 “ want them, the *others* want them not, and it
 “ is much happier not to want them, than to
 “ have them with danger and care.

“ So I see the sick man has great attendance
 “ about him, more than the healthful; shall I
 “ then say, he is a brave man, who has so many
 “ doctors

“ doctors and apothecaries to wait on him, so
 “ many nurses to attend and do every office
 “ for him, who has so many sweet syrups
 “ and electuaries, and gilded pills about him?
 “ Is this so fine and brave? No, he has them,
 “ but it is sad he needs them or thinks so.
 “ How much better he, who neither has nor
 “ wants that pomp and furniture! Alas, so the
 “ ambitious mortal is sick, he wants his coach,
 “ his equipage and ensigns of grandeur, he can-
 “ not live or go abroad without them; and if
 “ he hath them, I envy not; rather God give
 “ me my sound mind, and I shall be better
 “ without them, than with that faint relief which
 “ at present they afford others, only because they
 “ are sick and need them.”

On the other side, he thought there were many
 snares and dangers attendant on a large fortune
 and affluent circumstances, which required great
 care and watchfulness, lest the world should gain
 an ascendancy over our affections; for on these
 words, *Demas hath forsaken us, having loved this*
present world, he makes this reflexion, “ That
 “ the sensible impressions of these things may not
 “ be captivating and ensnaring, we should turn
 “ away in some measure from them, and deny
 “ ourselves needless and superfluous gratifications,
 “ and so make the world as little sensible and
 “ moving as may be. Many, alas, study the
 “ arts of gallantry and splendour, and affect all
 “ the finery and ornaments, and indulge them-
 “ selves in all the delicacies and pleasures, that
 “ sensible delights can give them, and so dazzle
 “ and blind their minds with pomp and gayety,
 “ stately palaces and costly furniture, proud at-
 “ tire and dainty entertainments, that it is no

“ wonder, if conversing so intimately with the
 “ utmost sensitive charms, and dwelling so in-
 “ tensely upon this false lustre, they feel such a
 “ passion for this present world, as is ungovern-
 “ able, and carries them off from divine objects,
 “ the usual case of the rich and great, who dwell
 “ always in this imaginary sunshine.

“ But if we would be safe, it is better to shut
 “ our eyes against these vanities by moderation
 “ and abstinence, not ever gratifying a vain
 “ mind, or eye, or appetite with every diver-
 “ sion, every pageantry or pleasure, that others
 “ are greedy of, chusing to live contented with
 “ needful accommodations, without affecting an
 “ acquaintance with those vanities, which are
 “ apt to raise admiration, or excite our passions,
 “ and give the world a power over us.

“ Thus did the primitive Christians, they
 “ shun’d the sports and pastimes and shews of
 “ the theatre, and all those scenes of folly and
 “ lewdness, as what was the import of their bap-
 “ tismal vow, *to renounce the pomps of the world.*
 “ They were therefore charged with being dull
 “ and mopish, but they remember’d it was not
 “ their business to seek for happiness here, nor
 “ safe to intangle their minds in such snares and
 “ amusements, as would draw them off from
 “ more noble cares, and more important concerns.
 “ They knew, that by moderation and self-denial,
 “ sobriety and indifferency they kept out of the
 “ reach of temptation and worldly charms, and
 “ preserved their relish for heaven and willingness
 “ to leave this earth. Without going out of the
 “ world they thus retreated from it.”

This liberty of preaching, which he enjoy’d,
 gave great offence to divers of the high-flown
 clergy,

clergy, particularly to Mr. *Charles Lesley**, who in his Rehearsal, Vol. II. N^o 29, expresses great dislike at it; and also to Mr. *Francis Higgins*†, another *Boute-feu*, who complained of it first in his Sermon, and afterwards to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The Archbishop was not unacquainted either with his having a Meeting in *London*, or with what had befallen him at *Dublin*, (as appears from the printed dialogue between him and Mr. *Higgins*) but he had had such a character of our Author as made him no way inclined to molest him, Mr. *Higgins* himself not pretending to say, that he made the controverted points the subject of his preaching; and yet the lower house of Convocation, in their representation ||| to 1711; the Queen, made no scruple to assert, that *weekly sermons were preached in defence of the Unitarian principles*; which Representation is so very unchristian and contains so many falshoods, that our

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d

Author

* This *Charles Lesley* was the famous Nonjuror, who attended on the Pretender at *Bar le duc* in *Lorraine*, and wrote several pieces in his favour, particularly that treasonable letter of *April 23, 1714*, recommending him to the *British* nation. See *Political State for May, 1714*. In his Rehearsal above-cited he applauds the Dissenters of *Dublin* for prosecuting our Author to *fine and imprisonment*; and, as if truth was not to be kept, no more than *faith*, with those who are counted *heretics*, he falsely affirms it was for *Socinianism*, and that he had *escaped* from thence. And tho our Author always appear'd openly and publicly, without any disguise, (as indeed he had no occasion to use any) yet that pitiful Scribler insinuates as if he concealed himself, and offers to discover where; for, says he, *I know where he lodges, if any body has a mind to speak with him*; while at that very juncture he was himself afraid of being known, and went by the feigned name of *White*. See *Polit. State, Vol. IV. p. 337*.

† This is the noted Rector of *Balruddery* in the county of *Dublin*, remarkable for his scandalous immoralities and turbulent temper. See *Polit. State for November, 1711*.

||| See *Political State for June, 1711*.

Appendix, Author thought proper to bestow some observations thereon.
N^o II.

However, after a few years this congregation was dissolved by the death of the principal persons who supported it, and Mr. *Emlyn* retired into a silent obscurity; which he contentedly took up with, not seeking or expecting any redress here, but patiently waiting till the great judge of all should set to rights the unjust judgments of men. In a discourse to this congregation on *Acts* 10. 42. *Who is ordain'd of God to be judge of the quick and dead*, his words are these; "Let us patiently wait for this judgment under all cases, wherein we wrongfully suffer from men. Violence and oppression, heavy censures and uncharitable reproaches are oft the portion of the innocent. Our Lord found it so, and used no other remedy but an appeal to God, and to wait for his justification. Being peaceable he was held *seditious* and a traitor; being sober and wise, was censured as *mad*; for speaking the *truth* against the vulgar opinions, he was call'd a deceiver and *blasphemer*.

1 Pet. 2.
23.

John 15.
19.

"He, who will not follow the multitude (who are seldom in the right) in evil or error, will be thought strange and spoke evil of, for not running to the same excess; the world hates them for not being of their own, for pretending to be wiser or better.

"What must be done then under such hard usage? why, leave it to the judge of all, he will bring forth the righteousness of the just as the sun; he will decide that great question, *what is truth*, what is true religion and the true church? When the pompous names of *Orthodox* and *Catholic*, &c. with all the help of human laws and popular cry shall stand for nothing; when despised humility, when true universal

II

He was indeed concerned to see the delicacy and tenderness which prevailed among most, so as not to be able to bear a little flouting or disgrace ; as for himself he had *endured the cross*, I mean actual loss and bodily sufferings, but for *the shame* he had learnt to *despise* it ; thus he excellently discourses from those words, *Heb. 12. 2. endured the cross, despising the shame* : “ In grievous violent suffering we must be fortified with
“ a resolute patience to endure them, tho flesh
“ and blood cannot bear them without pain and
“ smart, so that we cannot be wholly uncon-
d 2 “ cerned

“ cerned, unless by a miracle we are render’d in-
 “ vulnerable ; we must however resolve to bear
 “ all, and never purchase ease with guilt, or
 “ spare the flesh by loading the conscience.

“ But as to that, which is only evil in the ima-
 “ gination or mistaken judgment of others, we are
 “ taught to despise and disdain it. It needs no great
 “ stretch of our patience to deal with that, when
 “ in a just cause, if we had the true Christian suf-
 “ fering spirit. It is too mean for *our* regard, who
 “ aim at the praise of the great God. Natural
 “ greatness of mind can disdain this poor thing ;
 “ much more when exalted with virtue and true

Acts 5.41.

“ Christian principles may we almost insult over it,
 “ and till we have attained this, we are not fit for
 “ Christ’s disciples, they must have more cou-
 “ rage than to flinch for a little ignominy. How
 “ inexcusable then are they who are hindred from
 “ the profession or practice of Christianity by so
 “ petty a temptation, who cannot sail without a
 “ worldly gale, but are stopt with so little a blast
 “ as vulgar reproach.

“ Christians once had a noble suffering spi-
 “ rit, that could boast and glory under shame
 “ for well-doing ; they could endure any thing,
 “ and to give up their name to revilings and
 “ odium was counted a cheap trial, but now
 “ alas a delicate and soft spirit has prevailed
 “ among a degenerate race. They are so tender
 “ and nice, that their names must not be sullied ;
 “ a scorn, a flout, or a nick-name is enough to
 “ make them forsake the cause of truth. So far
 “ are they from *despising the shame*, that they
 “ can’t bear a little abatement or hazard of their
 “ esteem, not a wry look, or the least whisper of
 “ a reproach. Is this Christian courage or inte-
 “ grity?

“ Oh

“ Oh that we did eye the example of Jesus in
 “ the text! What have we, my brethren, to do
 “ to lay to heart the account of men, their cen-
 “ sures, their reproach or scorn; *we*, who have
 “ a great and holy God to approve ourselves to,
 “ and are aiming at his favour and esteem?
 “ Will he scorn as men scorn? or will not
 “ many, who have been made a gazing-
 “ stock to them, and been treated as the filth
 “ and off-scouring of the world, be applauded, Cor. 4.
 “ and crowned by him? Are not the poor de-¹³
 “ spised wanderers in their goat-skins and sheep-
 “ skins, in caves and desarts for conscience sake, Heb. 11.
 “ notwithstanding all the world’s contempt, pro-⁸
 “ claim’d on record to be such of whom the
 “ world was not worthy? and then what will all
 “ their scorn come to? Who will be most a-
 “ shamed at last, the Christian who receiv’d the
 “ world’s shame, or he who refused it sinfully?
 “ Let us then despise this shame, not from an ar-
 “ rogant conceit of ourselves, but from an high
 “ value of God’s approbation, which makes the
 “ world’s account a poor trifle to us.”

It was no small trouble to him, that he was
 laid by from so desirable an employment, which
 he had been brought up to and set apart for, I
 mean the instructing and exhorting to the prac-
 tice of holiness and virtue, which he ever pre-
 ferred to mere doctrinal points; and yet right
 and worthy notions of the Supreme Being had in
 his opinion a great influence in forming our
 minds and suitably directing our actions; for as
 the gaining his approbation must be the great
 concern of every considerate man, it is natural to
 conclude that to be the most probable way of
 gaining it, which renders us the most like, what

we apprehend him to be. To conceive therefore of God as a rigorous revengeful Being, who cannot shew mercy or forgiveness but upon a full equivalent satisfaction, and exacting the very utmost, is such an unworthy conception of him, as not only contradicts the whole tenor of Scripture, but has a bad tendency to produce the like dispositions in ourselves; nor can it but be very injurious to the honour of *the Father* to represent him under such a character, and confine all the love and kindness in the work of our redemption to *the Son*. He thought therefore he was not wholly useless in combating with such notions; nor in asserting the *supremacy* and *unity* of the First Cause, the God and Father of the universe, which appear'd to him so evident and important an article of both natural and reveal'd religion, that he judged it his duty to maintain it against such as would bring us back again into the grossest *Pagan* polytheism, from which it was the special design of Christianity to rescue us and set us free.

For as the *multiplicity* of persons destroys the *unity*, so *equality* destroys the *supremacy*; for necessary existence being allow'd by all to be an attribute of or rather essential to the supreme Being, how can three persons, in the proper sense of that word, be each of them necessarily existent, if one alone has all the perfections of the whole three; since as to two of them the denial of their existence can then imply no contradiction? and if each of them possess a perfection, which the others want, then how can three *such* persons constitute an infinitely all-perfect being? Not that he opposed these things as being above his comprehension, but because they were the unintelligible inventions of men, and not taught in the holy Scriptures; and as it is necessary to use our reason and understanding in judging of the credentials

dentials of revelation, it must be no less so to use it in judging of the sense and meaning of that revelation.

See Appendix,
N^o III.

It is therefore very unjustly insinuated by Mr. *Boyse*, Dr. *Waterland*, and others, that the *Unitarians* serve the cause of *Deism*, by exposing the sacred doctrines of Christianity, whereas the contrary is manifestly true, that they serve the interest of Christianity in rescuing it from the reproaches, which *Deists* and *Infidels* cast upon it, by shewing, that those absurd and contradictory tenets are the fruits of human inventions, and ought not to be imputed to the religion of Christ. If men will represent mysterious nonsense as articles of the Christian faith, which have no foundation there, but are gross Anti-christian corruptions, no wonder *Deists* should make sport with them, and use them for matter of reproach against Christianity; for tho this be no just ground to wise and considerate men to reflect on the Christian religion, the truth and excellency whereof depends upon its own original evidence and intrinsic worth, and cannot be alter'd by or depend upon the subsequent behaviour or corruptions of its professors, yet it is hereby hugely misrepresented, and an handle afforded to ill disposed men to find fault with it. For it may be easily observed, that the generality of unbelievers do not appear to be sincere and impartial in their searches after truth, but are deeply tinctured with prejudices against all revelation, and take up their notions upon very imperfect and shallow inquiries. Upon which occasion I cannot help calling to mind what once passed between the renowned Sir *Isaac Newton* and the famous Dr. *Halley*; this latter throwing out some indecent reflexions upon Christianity, Sir *Isaac* stopt him short, and spoke to him in these or the like words, “ Dr. *Halley*, I am al-

“ ways glad to hear you, when you speak about
 “ astronomy or other parts of mathematics, because
 “ that is a subject you have studied and well un-
 “ derstand, but you should not talk of Christia-
 “ nity, for you have not studied it, I have, and
 “ know you know nothing of the matter.”

Most of the objections against the Christian revelation are not founded upon the real genuine doctrines of Christianity, but upon the spurious additions of Fathers and councils, of synods and assemblies, who often intermixed their own fancies and metaphysical whims with the plain useful doctrines of Christ. With weapons drawn from this quiver Infidels insult religion, without considering it in its native simplicity, which is free from such imputations. Could we but see the professors of Christianity, more especially them, whose peculiar duty it is to be ensamples to their flocks, living up to the rules of that excellent institution in holy exemplary lives and unblameable behaviour, in a true concern for practical religion, inculcating, not party notions and opinions, but universal love and benevolence, mutual kindness and forbearance; could we see them as ready and willing to rectify plain mistakes of how old a date soever, and give up the most favourite opinions, when indefensible, as to cram them down the throats of others, who cannot perceive them in the light they do; could we see them heartily desirous and endeavouring to convince, not by carnal motives or violence, but by rational arguments and persuasions, this would be an effectual way of defeating *Deism*, and disarming *infidelity* of all its force, nor need we then fear the strongest objections, which can be brought against religion.

But when men are possessed with an opinion, that the pastoral office, however good and desir-
 able

able in itself, is sought after more as a trade and livelihood, than as a means of instructing mankind, and winning over souls to Christ; that they are more concerned about their temporal advantages and worldly lucre, than the spiritual interest of religion; that a man's readiness to subscribe to all or any articles of human decisions shall be a better qualification for that office, than an assent to all the Scriptures, tho accompanied with sobriety of life and manners, and the most excellent talents for instruction; that they are more tenacious of received articles, than of that *faith*, which worketh by *love*, which our Saviour himself has made the certain badge of a Christian, by whose laws alone the admission to or exclusion from the pastoral office or Christian communion ought to be regulated: I say, when men are once possessed with a notion, that this is the case, as it certainly is in the *Romish* church, (would to God there were no resemblance of it among Protestants,) it is not to be wonder'd at, that Deism and Infidelity should spread and gain ground.

And tho I would not lay this to the charge of our establishment, yet I could heartily wish, that by a yet further reformation they would not leave the least colour or shadow for evil-minded men to make such suggestions, that by an honest and ingenuous yielding of what can no longer be supported by reason and argument, they would demonstrate to the world their sincere and greater regard for truth, than for any supposed discredit by acknowledgment of an error; which is indeed a greater glory than infallibility itself; that by exercising a strict discipline in the clear and undoubted laws of Christianity, I mean as to morals and practical holiness, and in other things allowing all the latitude, which the gospel itself does, requiring no other profession of faith but what
Christ

Christ and his Apostles required, without human explications, carefully excluding such whose immoral lives are a scandal to their profession; and admitting all, whom Christ has not excluded, and who by their valuable abilities or eminent piety may be well qualified to promote the interest of religion and turn many to righteousness*.

There were two particulars so generally allowed to be wrong, and yet no public attempts to amend them, that it made our Author quite despair of ever seeing any thing rectified, be it never so plainly amiss. These were the *Athanasian* creed and the supposed text of 1 *John* 5. 7. As to the former it is well known, not only what an offence it gave to the worthy Mr. *Chillingworth*†, but also how greatly it was disliked by those two excellent prelates Archbishop *Tillotson* and Bishop *Burnet*, the former of whom writing to the latter says, “The account given of *Athanasius*’s creed seems to me no-wise satisfactory; “*I wish we were well rid of it.*”‡ I could mention other eminent prelates, who would have been as well satisfied to be rid of it too, but shall only relate a passage of Archbishop *Sharp*, which I was told by a gentleman who was then present and heard it: One Sunday when the Archbishop was going to church along with the Minister who was to officiate, the Minister took notice that it was one of the days appointed for reading the *Athanasian* creed, and, said he, *I had liked to have forgot*

* Dr. *Marshall* in his Preface to *Cyprian* says, “It is the glory of our *English* church, that she is the nearest of any to the primitive model; it is not, I presume, denied that she might be nearer still.” And in the office of communion on the first day of *Lent*, the church wishes for a restoration of the primitive discipline.

† See his Life, 8vo. p. 78.

‡ Bp. *Burnet*’s Life, p. 719.

forgot it: Upon which the Archbishop replied, *And why could not you have forgot it?* intimating thereby, he would have been as well pleased if he had. Indeed that creed is so oddly worded, with such an air of contradiction, that were we to judge only from internal characters, it might well be doubted whether it were drawn up by a believer, or a banterer. Nay, the orthodox Mr. Thomas Bradbury's opinion of it is, that it is a *twirl of words fitter for a Chymist than a Christian* *. But most certainly, whatever be thought of the other parts of it, the damnatory clauses are, as Mr. Chillingworth says †, *so presumptuous and schismatical*, that it is no wonder every charitable sober minded Christian should, with Archbishop Tillotson, be glad to get rid of it.

As to the *other*, the text of 1 John 5. 7. there is so little or rather no evidence for its being genuine, and so many and strong arguments to the contrary, as much as can well be desired for a negative, that it is in a manner given up by almost all the learned; and tho it was always questionable, and as such inserted in different characters, even to the middle of Q. Elizabeth's reign, yet the more it has been examin'd, the less evidence has appeared for it; and what was formerly thought to favour it, has been since found to have no weight in it ‡. But still this text stands in our Bibles with the same face as the rest; when sure there is as much reason for its being *now* mark'd with different characters, as there was in the beginning of Q. Elizabeth's reign, and in all English Bibles before that time. Why therefore may not these things be rectified, since sure I am infidelity could gain no strength, nor orthodoxy be any way weaken'd by parting with such feeble supports?

* Account of the proceedings at *Salter's-Hall*, in a letter to Dr. Gale, p. 27. † His Life, p. 93. ‡ See Inquiry into this text, Vol. II. p. 158.

supports? Mr. *Martin* has said every thing (considerable or inconsiderable) that could be suggested in behalf of this text, but the whole appears to be mere imagination and supposition without evidence; and Dr. *Calamy* has copied from him into his discourses upon the Trinity, in which he has flung out many unjust and abusive reflexions on our Author*; not without some very indecent and prophane expressions concerning God and our Lord Jesus †.

Indeed those discourses have so little of the scholar or the Christian, so void of real argument, and so destitute of the love and charity he pretends to, that Mr. *E.* judged it not requisite to take any notice of them ‡, excepting as to one particular, viz. his *false quotations*: he thought it a piece of justice due

* See his Sermons, p. 127. 128. 164.

† Ibid. p. 345. "Supposing, says he, (without granting) that it [*the New Scheme*] should in that respect [*the saving the Unity of God*] have some advantage, what amends can that make us for its obscuring and overthrowing the main and most capital parts of the Christian doctrine, with which it is not to be reconciled? And what shall we at last do with our *One God*, without a *Saviour* and a *Sanctifier*?" As if God the Father had no ability to *save* and *sanctify*, contrary to his own arguments against a plurality of Gods; for, says he, p. 233. "Either they must have the same excellencies, or different excellencies, by which they should be discriminated from each other. If their excellencies were exactly the same, they all joined together could do no more than *One alone*, and why then should there be a number? And to suppose different excellencies in the divine nature is absurd." And p. 130, he represents our Saviour on supposition of his being God subordinate to the Father, not worth contending for or trusting in: And again, p. 360. "The looking to an *Arian* Saviour might well enough create a chilling damp and dispirit us with fear, lest some one should pluck us out of his hands;" as if the Father's assistance were not sufficient to prevent it, when our Saviour himself grounds our security on that very foundation. *My Father*, says he, *which gave them me is greater than all, and none is able to pluck them out of my Father's hands.* John 10. 29.

‡ See Pref. to Answer to *Martin*, Vol. II. p. 174.

due to the public to apprise them of *this*, and therefore drew up some animadversions thereon, which he laid aside on account of Mr. *Whiston's* undertaking to do it; but since Mr. *Whiston* has omitted it, they are here inserted in the *Appendix*.

N^o IV.

Besides what has been above-mentioned, with regard to the imposition of unscriptural subscriptions, and the backwardness to rectify the most manifest errors, there was another advantage given to unbelievers, which he greatly lamented; I mean a dishonest compliance with such subscriptions, by those who do not sincerely believe them. It was a real grief to him to see men prevaricate in such serious matters, torturing and twisting words from their plain and undeniable meaning, and using little artifices of trick and disguise about the sacred truths of the gospel; nay, he looked on this conduct as one of the great obstructions to a reformation: for if as matters now are, the terms imposed *may* fairly and honestly be complied with by both sides, how can they press the necessity of an alteration? But if they *cannot*, with what grace can such men urge the motives of conscience and integrity, when by their practices it appears what little effect those motives have on themselves, who rather than part with their revenues or miss of preferment, will forego their innocence?

I say not this as an excuse for such impositions, no, they are much to blame, who throw stumbling blocks in the way of others; for tho *it must needs be that offences come, yet wo to that man, by whom the offence cometh*: but I say, that infidels, *Mat. 18.7.* taking advantage hereof, are apt to suspect both sides, and to believe, that neither of them are in good earnest about religion, but only make use of it in subservience to their worldly designs and ambitious

ambitious views: whereas when men willingly sacrifice their temporal interest rather than prostitute their consciences, it shews them to be worthy of regard, and may perhaps have an influence on some to endeavour a removal of these stumbling blocks; but if it have not, it cannot however miss of giving them inward satisfaction of mind, and demonstrating to the world the sincerity and uprightness of their conduct.—But to return to our Author.

It was a great satisfaction to him amidst all these discouragements to see the progress of truth, of that truth, for which he wrote and suffer'd so much, to see it, as he says, *spreading its beautiful ray* into all parts, even to *Ireland*. As his private occasions usually call'd him over thither once in two or three years, he visited several of the middling sort of his people, who receiv'd him with great kindness and respect, the odium of his opinions beginning to wear off apace; many of them expressed great dissatisfaction at the treatment he had met with; and, whereas the congregation had much decreased since he had left them, some of them went so far as to tell him, *We may date the decay of our congregation from the time of your leaving us*.

But tho *Unitarianism* ceased to be so frightful a thing, as it had been formerly, especially after the year 1719, when at the famous meeting of the Dissenting Ministers at *Salter's-hall* it had been carried not to require any subscriptions to, or professions of faith in words of human composition, but to the Scriptures only; yet none of the Ministers dared venture on asking Mr. *E.* to preach for them, (altho they had no reason to fear his meddling with the controversy) except the Ministers of the Baptist-congregation at *Barbican*, who to shew their catholic temper, and truly Christian spirit, invited him more than once to that

that office; and to their honour I speak it, notwithstanding the reflexions of the censorious, they were not ashamed publicly to own him for a brother.

About the year 1726, upon the decease of the worthy and learned Mr. *Peirce*, of *Exeter*, several of his people were minded to invite Mr. *E.* thither, and had formed a design for that purpose; but as soon as Mr. *E.* was acquainted with it, he desired them to desist, thanking them for their respects to him, but excusing his acceptance on account of his declining years and the feebleness of his limbs.

Altho he lived in private retirement, he was however honoured with the esteem and friendship of divers persons of great learning and eminent stations, and was particularly intimate with the truly excellent Dr. *Samuel Clarke*, as appears from the *Memoirs* of his life at the end of the second volume; the inserting whereof will I hope give no just occasion of offence, since besides the reason, mention'd in those *Memoirs*, of *all being over and himself gone from off the stage*, (which is still stronger now by a yet further distance of fifteen years) it appears from the very nature of them, as containing a vindication of Dr. *Clarke* from some posthumous reflexions, that they were intended to be made public, altho during the Doctor's life, and for some time after, he did not communicate the contents to any one. That great and good man, tho' at his first acquaintance with our Author he was shy and upon the reserve, yet when he came to be further acquainted with him, expressed an high value and regard for him, generally advised with him in matters of importance, and notwithstanding his usual caution towards most, open'd his mind to him with the greatest

greatest freedom; for, said he, *I can say any thing to you.*

As to his writings, they speak for themselves, and show upon what particular occasions they were published, only the reader will please to take this observation along with him, that as they consist of *distinct* Tracts, wrote at *several* times, against *different* Authors, who continued to urge the *same* arguments, tho often answer'd before, without taking notice of the answers, it is not to be wonder'd at, if he find the same things repeated in different parts of his works, sometimes perhaps in nearly the same words, especially in those which are posthumous, and had not been revised by him.

He chose to found his opinion on the *Scriptures*, and not on the writings of the antient *Fathers*, who, tho they must be allow'd to have the weight of credible witnesses to attest what was understood to be the catholic doctrine in and about their own times, and as such deserve all proper regard, yet are not infallible guides, nor of decisive authority in matters of faith: He was the less inclined to make his appeal to them, because, notwithstanding they asserted the supremacy of the Father in as strong terms as the *Scriptures*, yet by mixing their vain philosophy and metaphysics with their theology they opened a large field for wrangling, and gave scope to school disputants to perplex and puzzle. And therefore tho he had a close reasoning head, he did not generally chuse to make use of metaphysical arguments, unless it were by way of defence against such, who endeavoured to shelter themselves under those mysterious clouds; and framing imaginary hypotheses without any evidence from Scripture, thought it sufficient to show that so *they might be*, without any proof that so *they are*. Mr. *Boyse* does him the justice to

OWN,

own, that he has fairly refer'd the decision of this controversy to the authority of the Scriptures, and has gone beyond any of the late Unitarians in producing the most plausible objections, &c.* Dr. Waterland indeed, tho he is pleased to make him the compliment of understanding this controversy better than some, who have succeeded him in it, and who, he says, have been content sometimes to borrow from him†, yet charges him among others with resting his cause upon metaphysics ‖, reserving to himself the plea of using metaphysics only by way of defence ‖‖. But of all men Dr. Waterland has the least title to this plea, the whole strength of his cause depending upon consequences drawn from the philosophy and metaphysics of the Fathers, which whether deducible or no, were evidently not admitted by them, being directly contrary to what themselves held and declared to be the certain articles of the catholic faith; Does he not continually, from the philosophical notions of the Fathers concerning the Son's eternity and consubstantiality **, infer his supreme deity and equality, altho those very Fathers do as expressly deny it as words can speak? nay, it does not appear that such a notion had ever entered into the heads of any of them, except the Montanist heretics, till after the Nicene council. Here give me leave to apply the Doctor's own words to himself: " Now supposing the Doctor ever so strongly to believe that the Ante-Nicene writers in general held principles, which necessarily infer and imply his conclusion; yet we insist upon it, that they ought not to be judged of from any obscure consequences,

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* Preface to *Vindication*, &c. last page but one.

† Second Defence, p. 520. ‖ Ibid.

‖ Ibid. p. 331.

** Def. Quer. 8. 25, 26. 2d Def. p. 46. 496. Pref. to Sermon. p. 13.

“quences, which the Doctor draws from them
 “against what they draw for themselves.” Def.
 p. 397.

Who they are, that are most justly chargeable with this fault, of resting their cause upon metaphysics, may be easily known by the answer to these queries; “Who were they that introduced the
 “words *hypostasis*, *person*†, *substance*, *essence*, *con-*
 “*substantial*, &c. into the Christian faith? Who
 “are they that pretend these words do more
 “precisely and determinately express the doc-
 “trines of Christianity, than the words of Scrip-
 “ture, which they deem more liable to be ex-
 “plained to a wrong meaning? Who are they,
 “that, not content with using these words in ex-
 “plaining their opinions, have inserted them in
 “creeds and articles, and imposed them on the
 “belief of mankind, esteeming them a better
 “*criterion* of orthodoxy, than any phrases of
 “the holy Scriptures?” Let these questions be
 fairly answer’d, and it will soon appear who they
 are, that affect to be *wise above what is written*,
 and have introduced metaphysics into the Chri-
 stian faith, thereby corrupting the doctrines of
 Christ, and assuming a dominion over our faith:
 And who they are, that have used metaphysics
 by way of defence only against such impositions.

Our Author never published any thing against
 Dr. *Waterland*, seeing he was already in hands
 very able to deal with him, altho it was plainly

per-

† Strange, that this word, unscriptural as it is, should be
 pitch’d on as the properest word to express the distinction in the
 Deity, when at the same time it is owned, that tho it be *taken*
from our conceptions of human persons, (*Waterl. Sermon. p. 142.*)
 yet when applied to God, it is used in a sense infinitely different
 from what it means when used of men. *Lesly*, at the end of
Gildon’s Deist’s Manual; and, says Dr. *Waterland*, *All per-*
sons, but the three divine persons, are separate substances. 2d Def.
 p. 366. And *They are persons of a different kind from all other*
persons. Ibid. p. 369.

perceivable that in so large a field he had opportunity of playing his metaphysics and often avoiding the combat, by not keeping close to the point of *dominion* and *authority*, and putting the controversy upon a wrong footing; but even here he was so close pressed, that with all his chicanery he could not avoid running into palpable contradictions, one or two of which I shall only just set down, and leave them to the reader's own reflexions.

" Each divine person is
" an *individual intelligent*
" *agent* *.

" For the *Father* to be
" incarnate and act a *mi-*
" *nisterial* part as the Son
" did, is a contradiction
" to his *paternity*, incon-
" sistent with that *priority*
" of order, which as *Fa-*
" ther he is possessed of,
" and which would be *in-*
" *verted* if the Father were
" to minister to the Son †.

" This priority of order
" is not *aeconomical* but *na-*
" *tural, necessary, unalter-*
" *able*, and eternally so;
" so that one could never
" have been the other ‡.

" They are all to-
" gether *but one undi-*
" *vided* intelligent a-
" gent. **

" The Son's acting
" a *ministerial* part is
" *purely aeconomical*,
" and there was no
" impossibility in the
" *nature* of the thing,
" but the *Father*
" himself might have
" done the same ||.

How far Dr. *Waterland* took his notions from Scripture may be judged of from this remarkable passage in his own writings. In his Sermons, p.

e 2

143,

* Def. p. 350. ** Ibid. † 2d Def. p. 135. ‡ Farther Vindicat. p. 38. 2d Def. p. 177. || 2d Def. p. 177.

143, endeavouring to reconcile the Scripture phrases *He, Him, &c.* with his notions, he says, "To say *He* or *Him* ordinarily carries in it the idea of *one person* only, and is therefore *inconvenient* on that account, as not taking in *all*, that we apprehend of the One God;" and yet he says, "it is the best and least offensive way of any, and has been generally taken both in Scripture and in ecclesiastical writings; for to say *It* would sound low and flat, and is the way of speaking, which we have in a manner appropriated to *inanimate* or *irrational Beings*, and to say *They* or *Them* would appear as if the persons were *divided* and separate like other persons, and might sound as if the *three persons* were *three Gods*." Upon these passages our Author makes this remark, "To say it is *inconvenient* is to say that *his* notions of God and the Scripture's do not agree, a very just natural observation, which he could not help making before he was aware, but it agrees exactly with *their's*, who take the almighty holy *One of Israel* to be *ONE PERSON*, and that because it is so agreeable to both reason and Scripture without any *inconvenience*, as taking in *all that they apprehend of One God* in that point. The Doctor adds, *To say They would appear as if the persons were divided, and might sound as if they were three Gods*, a fair confession again; but why might not the sacred Scriptures as well venture to say so, as Dr. *Waterland*? And when the wisdom of God avoided it for that inconvenience and danger, why should not he be afraid of it too? Only because he was not so much afraid of making *three Gods*, as the sacred penmen were, and therefore Dr. *W.* and the *Athanasian* creed take that way, which he owns is the *most offensive*,

viz.

“ viz. to say, when speaking of God, *They are Sermons,*
 “ *one God, or The one God is the whole Trinity,* P. 142.
 “ which the Holy Scriptures never would say,
 “ tho the blessed God could doubtless have spoken
 “ as exactly and intelligibly, as the Doctor or
 “ the *Atbanasian* creed-maker. For my part I
 “ shall beware of those forms, which run into
 “ the *inconveniencies of three Gods*, and which the
 “ Scriptures avoid, and shall chuse rather that
 “ way, which God himself makes use of, with-
 “ out complaining of *inconveniencies*, and say
 “ with the Scriptures *He is one God*, tho it
 “ carry in it the idea of one person only, which
 “ it seems is not *convenient* to the Doctor’s no-
 “ tions. But the sacred Writers were not in this
 “ distress how to speak, only the Doctor how to
 “ reconcile it with his unscriptural hypothesis,
 “ and therefore this best way is *offensive* too.”

The dispute between Dr. *Waterland* and his
 opponents seeming to be near exhausted, Mr. *E.*
 was desired, that, as he had been the first, who
 in this century had signalized himself in that con-
 troversy, he would now close it by a summary
 review thereof, with some general remarks on
 Dr. *Waterland*. This he once had thoughts of,
 but writing being become troublesome to him
 through the infirmity of his hands, it occasioned
 him to be so very slow, that he afterwards in a
 manner laid aside those thoughts; however, as
 he had prepared a great many broken hints and
 materials, which his friends were desirous to see in
 print, I have, at their persuasion, added a few
 of them, tho in an imperfect manner, under the
 title of *Observations on Dr. Waterland*; and also, Vol. II.
 by the like persuasion, some fragments or short P. 451.
 reflexions on Miscellaneous Subjects: for tho our Appendix,
 Author’s appearance in print was chiefly with re- N. V. VI.
 VII. VIII.

gard to the *Trinitarian* controversy, in which he had been obliged to bear a public testimony, yet his thoughts were often employed on other important subjects, particularly he was not an unattentive spectator of the several methods, by which Infidels made their attacks upon Christianity; for among his papers I find several occasional remarks relating thereto. He judged their greatest advantage proceeded from the defenders of Christianity laying the stress of their cause on improper arguments: By what I gather from those papers he did not think that the truth of Christianity could be *directly* proved *merely* from the excellency of its contents, nor from the accomplishment of Old Testament prophecies in Christ; but tho these things might awaken mens attention, and put them upon examining, might remove objections and reflect light, and bring additional strength to other arguments, yet that the proper and *direct* proof of the Christian religion, which Christ himself always urged, arises from his miraculous works, particularly that great one of his resurrection from the dead, accompanied with his own excellent personal character and behaviour; he esteemed it therefore injudicious to retreat from this strong and forcible argument to more indirect and obscure ones.

“ It is plain, *says he*, no common thing predicted of him could be a mark sufficient to prove him the *Messias*, *viz.* his being born in such a town, coming out of such a country, as *Judah, Betlehem, Nazareth, &c.* the showing these predictions to be fulfilled in him may be an answer to such, who did believe these marks to belong to the *Messias*, and would have made the want of them an objection, but are no proof *à priori*; for if no such *Messias* was prophesied of, Christ had no need

“ to

“ to pretend to it, no end to serve by it, nor
 “ does our Saviour make his claim from these Old
 “ Testament prophecies; among the *Jews* before
 “ his death he spake but obscurely, not publicly
 “ owning in his preaching, nor suffering others
 “ to tell that he was the Christ, nor giving the *Mat. 16.*
 “ full evidence of it as afterwards, then came the *20.*
 “ torrent of evidence, commencing with his re-
 “ surrection, for public conviction; his particu-
 “ lar occasional miracles shewed him to be a pro-
 “ phet sent of God, and to be believed as such
 “ for his works sake, but his main design as a
 “ Saviour and spiritual Messiah was not then
 “ open’d, as appears from *Mat. 16. 20*, com-
 “ pared with *John 10. 24*. This was but acciden-
 “ tally hinted, as occasion offer’d, and that but
 “ in general terms, *viz.* that he was *testified of in* *5 John 39.*
 “ *the Scriptures*, and afterwards as one that must
 “ *die and rise again*, not by such applications of *Mat. 20.*
 “ prophetic texts, as are now disputed; at least *19.*
 “ among none but the disciples, who had of
 “ themselves gathered that he was the Christ, *Mat. 16.*
 “ without his telling them, not by public teach- *16.*
 “ ing among the *Jews*, tho as they were expect- *John 6.*
 “ ing it, they might find it out by their own ob- *69.*
 “ servation. So far is it from being true, that
 “ *Jesus* built all upon his being the *Messias* pro-
 “ phesied of as the foundation of his mission, as
 “ Mr. Collins pretends. Observe the Apostles *Mark 16.*
 “ commission, where all is founded on signs and *20.*
 “ miracles before all nations, not one word of
 “ prophecies or prophetic proof to the *Jews* or
 “ *Gentiles*; but the miraculous gifts of the spirit
 “ were their credentials at *Jerusalem*. Here is *Luke 24.*
 “ the true view of what Christianity is founded *49.*
 “ on, *viz.* the witness of Christ’s resurrection,
 “ confirmed also by *divers gifts of the Holy* *Heb. 2. 32.*
 “ *Ghost.* *4.*

“ If it were prophesied, that a Prophet, a King,
 “ or a Son of God should come at such a time,
 “ place, &c. with miraculous credentials, yet
 “ his coming does not prove him *such*, till he
 “ shows his credentials, and that he is such an
 “ one, as is prophesied of; the rest adds a con-
 “ firmation indeed, and facilitates credit to him,
 “ but is not the great proof of it self; tho the
 “ other would be good proof, if this had not
 “ been added for the more solemnity and effi-
 “ cacy. Christ’s miracles and resurrection were
 “ strong proofs, and the more for being fore-
 “ told; but the bare foretelling things of him
 “ not miraculous, would not have proved his
 “ character or mission; it had not proved him
 “ to be a prophet, barely because it had been
 “ predicted he should be a prophet, or that he
 “ did work miracles, merely because it was pro-
 “ phesied he should work them, and he had the
 “ other marks of the person intended to work
 “ them. The prophecies might *declare* him, but
 “ the miracles must *prove* him to be the Christ
 “ declared and described in the Old Testament
 “ prophecies.

“ It is objected, that the texts cited by the
 “ Evangelists do not seem to mean *Jesus of Na-*
 “ *zareth* in particular. To this I answer, When
 “ the prophesy is indefinite, and the characters,
 “ by which *One* is described, are set down *abso-*
 “ *lutely* without other application, then in whom-
 “ soever those characters are fulfilled, it may be
 “ said *They spake of him*, tho no more than by a
 “ general description, which might fall on an-
 “ other for ought we or the prophets themselves
 “ might know. But the utmost that can be
 “ pretended is, that the Evangelists have misap-
 “ plied some texts, which did not mean, as they
 “ apply them. If this were so, this weakens no
 “ argument,

“ argument, nor invalidates their testimony to
 “ facts, *viz.* what Christ did or taught. If they
 “ had erred in their reasoning on texts with com-
 “ mon human infirmities, which inspiration did i Cor. 7.
 “ not wholly free them from, (for we must make
 “ a difference between Christ’s sayings and the
 “ Apostles reasonings on them) many such errors
 “ affect not the truth of the Christian religion,
 “ which depends upon facts believed before the
 “ Scriptures were written.

“ But what if, after all, these applications were
 “ truths, tho not evident or fit for *proofs* to
 “ those, who differ’d in their sentiments? Then
 “ all is well. And who can say they are sure
 “ they were not true? Their being suitable to
 “ the case of others hinders not their having an
 “ aspect on *Jesus Christ*; the *Jews* might have
 “ grounds for some explications, which *Gentiles*
 “ have not. A *double* intended sense makes the
 “ argument no weaker than when liable to two
 “ different disputed interpretations of the literal
 “ *single* sense, which may hinder arguing from a
 “ text as a clear *proof*, but hinders not a *truth*
 “ from being contained in it. A text may be
 “ made uncertain in its sense by it, (and so no
 “ evident proof) but neither sense is confuted by
 “ it. Either may still be *true*, unless it appear e-
 “ vidently *false*, tho it can’t be a good *proof*, un-
 “ less it be evidently *true*; the former only, *viz.*
 “ the *truth* of it, is what the Evangelists assert,
 “ which may consist with the uncertainty and
 “ obscurity of the prophecy. If therefore they
 “ did not urge it as a proof to convert the *Jews*,
 “ but only to clear objections, it ought not to be
 “ call’d a *weak argument* in the Evangelists, since
 “ they intended not *any* in the case.” These
 “ were his sentiments with relation to *Prophecies*.

Nor

Nor did he think that the gospel could be proved true merely from the excellency of the contents, for “ Let it be never so reasonable, “ *says he*, it is not true, unless it be by way of “ *special revelation* or confirmation from heaven “ also. If *Socrates* or *Plato* had given us this “ doctrine, it had not been such a revelation, as “ it professes to be, and therefore more proof is “ necessary than the reasonableness of its doctrines “ to show it to be an immediate revelation or “ message from God ; for if we must first judge “ of the real goodness of the doctrine, before miracles can be admitted as a proof, I see not what “ use miracles can be of in proof of any doctrine ; “ what is this but to say, that the miracles of God “ are to be proved by our notions of natural religion, and not religion or doctrine by miracles, “ which last was Christ’s method ? Or that when “ we are convinced already, that a doctrine is “ true, then a miracle shall prove it, and so signs “ will be for believers and not for unbelievers. “ What will they signify in the case, when the “ *doctrines* inquired after, or the *ordinances* in- “ joined are not antecedently discerned to be either good or bad intrinsically, as it is only the “ truth or falshood of the *doctrines* makes them “ good or bad to be held, in which we are to be “ determined by the testimony of miracles or “ God’s authority. So for *ordinances*, they may “ not excel others in their nature, but only as “ being God’s appointment ; we don’t first see the “ goodness of what is taught, but come to learn “ it, when we know what is God’s revealed “ will.”

He was not insensible of the objections made against the argument from miracles, for in another place I find him thus arguing ; “ If a miracle be what God alone can work, the case is “ plain

plain and the proof quick and short, as well as strong, that it is the testimony of God, and must be true, which he, who cannot lie, sets this seal to. This seems to be the plain sense of mankind and of the holy Scriptures; *My Father, that dwelleth in me, doeth the works,* ^{John 14. 10.} says Christ; *God was with him,* says St. Peter, ^{Acts 10. 38.} and Nicodemus is express, *None can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him,* ^{John 3. 2.} (not except an Angel be with him.) And our Lord says, *If I had not done the works that none other did, &c.* So that in this way miracles will be a clear proof, *first*, of a God or infinite Lord superior to nature, and, *secondly*, that the matter or doctrine, in confirmation of which miracles are wrought, is from God and owned by him. ^{9. 33. 15. 24.}

“ But against this it is objected, *1st*, That deceivers, and the man of sin will do miracles, *Mat. 24. 24. 2 Thes. 2. 9.* in the same words as are used of Christ's works, *Heb. 2. 4.*
Resp. They are not the same, they are lying wonders, *ῥεπάλαι ψεύδους*, fallacious juggling tricks, or artful practices from some greater skill, than was known to be attainable by men; like as shooting in a gun with powder would have passed for a miracle at first, tho not really so.
Obj. 2. But if it cannot be distinguished from real miracles, it is all one in our case.
Resp. They may be distinguished in most cases, as in popish miracles it is plain; but if there be any which bid fairer to stand examination, like the doings of the Magicians of *Egypt*, which seem to be either real works of art, or the achievements of *Demons*, yet even such are manifestly below the miracles I speak of, *viz.* raising the dead to perfect life in an instant, &c.

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“ All

“ All therefore that can be justly pretended is,
 “ that *some* wonderful works are of a doubtful
 “ origin, whether from God, or from dæmons,
 “ the limits of whose power we know not, and
 “ so they are not decisive. But then I affirm,
 “ that it is here as in many other cases; we know
 “ not the just limits and borders of things, but
 “ yet the opposite extremes are manifest, as in
 “ variety of colours intermixed, we cannot tell
 “ just where one ends and the other begins, but
 “ can easily distinguish the extremes and remote
 “ parts; so tho we know not how far the power
 “ of angels or spirits can reach, yet we may
 “ know whither they certainly cannot reach; and
 “ I take the raising the dead, *viz.* of Christ and
 “ *Lazarus*, to be such, and out of their power to
 “ perform.

“ As to them who doubt, whether angels
 “ might not be able to do all that Christ did by
 “ God's *permission* only, without his *aid*; I think
 “ they err, and take away the proof of a God;
 “ for we have no stronger proof of a Deity than
 “ from the creation of the world, and this
 “ would fail, because giving life is the noblest
 “ part of the creation, and I see not but angels
 “ might create, if they could of themselves do
 “ all Christ's miracles. Who can do more? or
 “ on what proof is any higher Being believed to
 “ be, than he, who by his own power is Lord of
 “ life and death? and tho some add, these only
 “ act by God's *permission*, who will not let them
 “ act so to deceive men without controlling them,
 “ as in *Egypt*, yet how appears it that they are
 “ under any superior, if they can by their own
 “ efficiency do all this, even all that almighty
 “ God is known to have done, to make heaven,
 “ and earth? as we must say, unless we know
 “ certainly some limits to their power, which
 “ they

they cannot exceed." * These were his notions concerning miracles.

He thought an additional argument in favour of Christianity might be fetched from the credible testimony of the messenger himself, being holy, and excellent in his person and designs, for, *says* he, " It is not credible, that a teacher and promoter of so noble, so pure, so wise, so benevolent, so elevated and heavenly a religion and design, should ever basely delude men by falsehood into utter ruin here and disappointment hereafter, and that by his own ruin too. Who that observes the holy *Jesus's* character, his shining purity, and undefiled innocence, his diffusive benevolence, his ardent love and compassion to all, his perfect patience and calm mind, the sublime and heavenly tendency of all his words and actions, as one of another world; who, I say, that beholds him, can forbear saying, *I do, I must needs admire and love this amiable and perfectly excellent person; I heartily believe him, who can distrust him? Is it possible, any thing false, mischievous, or base could come from him, to draw his dear friends into a fool's paradise but real misery? Could he ever so abuse his beloved disciples? No, in his* 1 Pet. 2. *mouth* 22.

* It is a further inducement to believe, that the raising of the dead, (by which is not meant the bare animating a dead body, but re-uniting the same conscious soul to it) is beyond the power of all *evil spirits* at least, because from the beginning of the world to this day there has not been one well-attested instance of the dead being raised, where it could reasonably be attributed to a *wicked spirit*, but all the credible instances of such a power being exerted, carry along with them the marks of a *good being*, and were evidently designed to promote holiness and virtue, in opposition to the kingdom of *Satan*. If therefore *evil spirits*, whatever other strange things they may have wrought, never did exercise such a power, when it would be manifestly so much for the establishment of their kingdom, it must be Mat. 12. allowed to be at least highly probable, that it is, because they 25. cannot.

Rev. i. 5. "mouth there was no guile, he was the faithful
 "and true witness. None that reads the gospel
 "can think otherwise of him; neither his tender
 "love to us, nor his veracity will leave us any
 "room to imagine he could deceive men
 "sadly; no, we are sure *he has the words of*
 John 6. "eternal life."

68.

A further argument might in his judgment be drawn from the extraordinary success of the Missionaries, as promised and predicted by Christ the accomplishment whereof is a sort of miracle for, *says he*, "Could ever ten or twelve poor illiterate men (not quite mad) agree and resolve to go abroad into different quarters of the earth, thinking to turn mankind from their old religious customs and vices, established by authority or long reputation, without purse without arts or sciences, without any to back them or recommend them, on purpose to teach and to persuade them to take up the cross and be ready to deny themselves of all that is pleasing in this world, in hopes of distant unseen matters in another, and all this by telling men a story of being sent by a great Prophet, hated and crucified at *Jerusalem*, whom they saw again, raised from the dead, and found the power of his Spirit upon them as promised. Nay, to go to *Rome* in all its pride and gayety and amidst all their triumphs and trophies to tell this poor story of their deluded fancies and yet to carry all before them, so as to gain vast numbers over to their belief, even unto death?"

"Was this possible, was it credible, if they had not carried with them *divine credentials*, viz. such miraculous evidences as could not well be resisted? In all quarters they found great credit, they must then have had something extraordinary
 "ordinary

“ ordinary to show in all these places, some
 “ strange charms. Hence it appears the report
 “ of their miracles was not fiction, since these
 “ effects could come from nothing less than a di-
 “ vine power, by which they had been sent on
 “ that errand.

“ What poor things are done now by *Mission-*
 “ *aries* abroad, tho they set out with credit, cor-
 “ respondence, power, and learning, &c. Let
 “ any try with ten or twelve men into different
 “ regions, if they can do any such exploits,
 “ even tho they are slain and opposed by the
 “ governing powers, as these were; and yet if
 “ they can do any thing, it must be by the cre-
 “ dit of these Apostles credentials and veracity
 “ first established, so that the foundation is laid
 “ for them, which was not for the Apostles;
 “ they began all without any aids but their
 “ own credentials, which they carried along with
 “ them, they were often questioned and exa-
 “ mined, and believed, that they were indeed
 “ thus sent of God and from their risen Lord his
 “ Son, relying on his word to *be with them to the* Mat. 28.
 “ *end*, tho they saw they must die for it. Had 20.
 “ they been mad men, could they have succeeded
 “ thus? and if not mad, could they have at-
 “ tempted it without divine encouragement and
 “ authority, and full assurance in their own
 “ minds?” †

Here

† Add to this, the remarkable destruction of *Jerusalem* ac-
 cording to our Saviour's prediction, and of the *Jewish* nation,
 which has been now for so many ages trodden down of the
Gentiles, and are to this day scattered on the face of the earth,
 unable with all their power and wealth to gain a fix'd settle-
 ment in any country of their own, and yet are still preserved a
 distinct and peculiar people, without being mix'd and confound-
 ed with the nations, among whom they sojourn; this I think
 a standing miracle, a continual attestation to the truth of
 Christianity, and ties the knot so hard, that notwithstanding
 the

Here it may not be improper to mention our Author's answer to another objection of the Deists, *viz.* the wickedness of professed Christians, which, tho it be exceeding great, and brings an ill report upon religion itself, had in his opinion been urged beyond the real truth. " One objection, *says he*, of the *Deists* against the need and usefulness of Revelation is, that they, who have it, are as wicked as those *Pagans*, who have only the light of natural reason, so that it seems not to be a *proper* means in order to the end for which it is designed, and therefore could not come from the all-wise God.

" To this I *answer*, that the fact is not so. How great soever, alas, the wickedness of Christians is, yet through the advantage of the gospel light they greatly excel the rest of the world in piety and virtue. Allowing the vices among Christians to be as great as among Infidels, (the reason of which may be afterwards mention'd) yet the excellent efficacy of Christianity will still appear, if among Christians there be much more religion and true virtue, than any where else is found; and that this is the real case, may be hence seen.

" 1. True piety and virtue is *extensively* far more, *i. e.* there are *many more* holy and good men among Christians, than among Infidels. We justly lament the many profane, wicked, sensual, revengeful, worldly men, who wear the Christian name, but then we have many thousands of conscientious, devout, sober, just, merciful, and charitable men, who fear the only true God, are serious in religion, and in

" earnest the imputation of *credulity* from Unbelievers, they cannot believe that these things could have happen'd upon supposition of Christianity being false, without being themselves the most *credulous* persons in the world, and believing the greatest absurdities and improbabilities.

“ earnest to know and do their duty towards
 “ God and men, without gross blemish or scan-
 “ dalous crimes, bewailing their defects and in-
 “ firmities. Now if there be scarcely any or but
 “ few such among the Pagans, who have known
 “ nothing of our Revelation, which by what I
 “ find is the case, and the whole mass of them are,
 “ not only idolaters, but brutish, sensual, cruel,
 “ careless of spiritual good, &c. * I say then
 “ the Christian world are much better, have
 “ many more holy virtuous good men among
 “ them thro the efficacy of the gospel.

“ Among

* How vile and wicked the generality were, may be seen from St. Paul's account of them, *Rom. 1. 21, &c.* — As to the modern Pagans, the *Chinese* are usually reckoned the most polite and knowing, and the most free from idolatry of any; and yet they, as I have been well informed from some who have lived among them, are a people almost universally destitute of serious piety, religion and virtue, and have no more of common justice and honesty, than what they find necessary for their own interest. Even the *Turks*, whose religion arose after the Christian, and had the advantage of adopting several things from thence, “ are very far (says Mr. *Maunderell*, who was a *Journey to Aleppo, p. 146.* very competent judge) from agreeing with that character, “ which is given of them in Christendom for their exact justice, veracity, and other moral virtues, upon account of “ which I have sometimes heard them mention'd with very extravagant commendations, as tho they far exceed Christian nations. But I must profess myself, *says he*, of another opinion; for the Christian religion, how much soever we live below the true spirit and excellency of it, must still be allow'd to discover so much power upon the minds of its professors, as to raise them far above the level of a *Turkish* virtue. 'Tis a maxim I have often heard from our merchants, that a *Turk* will always cheat, when he can find an opportunity. — Their religion is framed to keep up great outward gravity and solemnity, without begetting the least tincture of wisdom or virtue in the mind. — And yet with all this they are incredibly conceited of it, and contemptuous of that of others. — In a word, lust, arrogance, covetousness, and the most exquisite hypocrisy compleat their character.”

Gen. 18.
32.

“ Among the cities of the plain, *Sodom*, *Gomorrhah*, &c. ten righteous persons could not be found, and I doubt this is too much the case of many Pagan towns; but in the greatest corruption of the kingdom of *Israel* there were seven thousand, who had not bowed the knee to *Baal*. A philosopher or two, or a few singular persons may be holy and virtuous, but it is a sort of wonder among Pagans; not so, God be thanked, among Christians; Christ’s flock is comparatively little, but there are many thousands for a very few among Pagans.

1 Kings
19. 18.

“ Indeed the complaints and sense of the vices of Christians, which are taken such notice of by us, is a proof of this and springs from it; because there is a great sense of religion spread abroad; this makes mens vicious practices infamous and provoking, and spoken of with abhorrence by many; whereas among infidels the generality are corrupt, stupid, and little concerned for God and religion, and therefore crimes, which touch not their worldly interest, are scarce observed and cause little shame; we hear no crying out against them as among a people, who are holy and virtuous, on whom

Psal. 119.
136.

“ horror takes hold, when they see men keep not God’s law. So that the force of the objection, or rather that it is such an objection or reproach (as indeed it is) arises from that, which tends also to confute it, *viz.* because a sense of true religion and virtue is greater and more abundant among Christians, therefore the common wickedness is more grievous, more resented, and more exaggerated, as it ought to be, and will be, where there are most virtuous men.

“ 2. The

“ 2. The virtue and piety among Christians is
 “ *intensively* more. As there are fewer good per-
 “ sons among the Pagans, so these have none of
 “ them those great degrees and that high pitch
 “ of religious virtue, which some or many Chri-
 “ stians are raised unto. They had some in-
 “ stances of a philosophical and political or social
 “ virtue, but not those noble principles and ends,
 “ not that devout admiration of God their cre-
 “ ator, and their chief felicitating good, not those
 “ ardors of zeal and love for his glory, not that
 “ habitual daily and delightful contemplation of
 “ him, not that abasing shame and contrition in
 “ the sense of their sin and vileness, walking
 “ humbly before him with awful reverence, not
 “ that spiritual and heavenly mindedness, as a-
 “ mong many serious Christians, who live in
 “ faith, hope, and desire of the heavenly king-
 “ dom, the innumerable company of angels, and
 “ the spirits of just men made perfect, the re-
 “ gions of light and life, of love and joy.

“ Have they any number, or indeed any at
 “ all, of those, whose conversation is heaven,
 “ who count not the world, not father, children,
 “ nor their lives dear unto them, so that they
 “ may serve the honour of God and the salvation
 “ of men? Are they not indifferent, cold, and
 “ complying with the corruptions of their age,
 “ having fellowship with the works of darkness?
 “ I doubt there is no such exalted piety or chari-
 “ ty, no such elevation, and noble greatness of
 “ mind, raising them above the impressions of
 “ the matters of sense and time, as Christianity
 “ has inspired many with: and this very thing
 “ has confirmed some in the Christian faith, that
 “ it is from God, because of its sanctifying power
 “ and mighty efficacy on the souls of men, be-
 “ yond all philosophical institutions, and this on

“ better reason, than the Deists ground their argument against Christianity from the great wickedness of many others, who profess it.

“ 3. That many called Christians are so exceedingly wicked, sensual, earthly, cruel and devilish, does not overturn what I have said, but agrees with it, if it don't in part follow from it; for this follows accidentally from the mighty advantages and powerful influence of Christianity to sanctify and reform men, that evil and irreclaimable men must be expected to be worse than among infidels, for they, who have known the true ways of God and refuse to walk in them, they who withstand such clear light and such powerful motives, who love darkness rather than light, and resist the holy spirit always, these must be very desperately evil; the gospel represents them as such, and teaches us to expect such*.

1 Tim. 5.
4.

Doctor
Clarke's
Sermons,
Vol. I. p.
55. 57.

“ 4. The wickedness and gross corruption charged on Christians under Popery, where the scene is chiefly laid by the undervaluers of Christianity, is not to the purpose, because that is owing to their laying aside revelation. They are forced to keep the gospel from the people, else they could not be so wicked in many instances of religion, viz. idolatry, image-worship, idol-mediators, &c. (which they fly to reason to support) and in many immoralities, cruelties, &c. so that it is thro want of revelation

* Here also it ought to be noted, that as they, who were wicked in spite of all the assistances from Christianity, were so much the worse, so they among the Pagans, who were well disposed, were so much the better; for after the Christian religion came to be preached to the world and known to the Gentiles, it extended its influence to many, who, tho they did not embrace it, yet received great light from it and many hints for their improvement in virtue. We are not therefore so much to wonder at some pious and devout sayings in *Epicetetus*, *Seneca*, *Antoninus*, and others, who wrote after the spreading of Christianity.

“ lation, in reality, tho some pretence be taken
“ from it.”

There is another subject still behind, which our Author has treated on, and to which it will be requisite to say something here, I mean *Christian Baptism*, whether it was intended to be administered only to proselytes upon their conversion to Christianity? In this he was far from being positive, only thought it very *probable*; not that he was for *laying it aside*, as Dr. *Waterland* says, *Serm. 8.* since the argument only affects the *necessity* of it, *P. 320.* and does not suppose it unlawful, where from the obscurity of the case, or other reasons, it may be expedient to practise it, as St. *Paul* did in relation to *Timothy*, whom he circumcised to avoid giving offence to the *Jews*. *Acts 16.3.*

He was sorry to see the uncharitable contentions, that were occasioned on both sides by disputes on this point, and that too by some, who were of a catholic spirit in other things, but with respect to this were stiff and peremptory, as if as great latitude might not be admitted in *rites* and ordinances, as in matters of *faith*; not that he meant any should administer this rite in a way, which they conceived not agreeable to the institution, but that they should not lay so much stress upon it, as for that reason only to exclude others from Christian communion, who own Christ for their Lord, and observe his laws and institutions according to the sense in which they understand them, and perhaps have already been partakers of the Lord's table: for surely there is a great difference between a performance being *irregular*, and the being *wholly null* and void. To this case very applicable are the words of *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, about the year 254; who giving an account how he had been sought to by

one, (who had received baptism from the heretics, full, as he said, of impieties and blasphemies,) that he would administer to him the most pure baptism, writes thus: "Which thing I durst not perform, but told him, that the daily communion with the church, he had so long enjoyed, was sufficient for that; for I durst not re-baptize one, who had heard the giving of thanks, and had together with the rest of the congregation said *Amen* to it, and who had stood before the holy table, had received the holy food, and for a long time had been partaker of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ." *Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 9.*

I know it is also urged, that the whole body not being dipt it is no baptism; but tho I do not dispute this to have been the antient practice, yet I would beg leave to offer these few queries.

1. Whether any *part*, being quite under water, may not truly be said to be *dipped*? 2. Whether a part being dipped, the *person* may not be said to be *baptized*? thus *Mark* 7. 3, and 4. and *Luke* 11. 38. by washing of the hands the person is said to be *baptized*; for (1.) Baptism by *water* answers to baptism by the *spirit*, *Mat.* 3. 11. *I indeed, says John the Baptist, baptize you with water, he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.* Now this is by *pouring* of the spirit upon them, *Acts* 2. 17. and 10. 45. and *the Holy Ghost* is said to have *fallen* on them, *Acts* 11. 16. and at the day of *Pentecost*, the *fire* is said to have *sat* on them; so then by the like reason, where the water is *poured* on the face, there is a dipping or *baptizing*. (2.) When the Apostles baptized any, they dipped but a part, perhaps only the head; for the rest, the persons themselves put their bodies into the water, and so far dipped themselves; it was not the Apostles act nor their ministration,

nistration, only their direction, which I suppose is not counted sufficient to give baptism without *their* act; else the minister need do nothing but only direct men to dip themselves: so far therefore as the Apostles did the act of *baptizing*, it was only by *dipping a part*.

I mention not these things with any design to enter into the controversy, much less to take upon me the deciding it; all that I mean by it is, to show what reason there is for allowing the same liberty of differing here, as in other cases, without breach of Christian communion; for sure there is a mighty difference between the wilful neglect of baptism in the days of the Apostles, at a time when there could be no doubt about the duty or manner of administering it, for then it could be no other than a contemptuous refusal; and the omitting it, or erroneous manner of administering it *now*, when length of time and great corruptions of the church have made it dark and doubtful. What might then be a just objection for refusing church-membership, is none now, when there is not the like authority to require, nor the same clearness of the duty: And therefore I can't but be astonished at the unreasonable confidence of a learned and ingenious Writer* in this controversy; who declares peremptorily, that *they who have not received this very baptism* [immersion into water upon their profession of faith] *ought not to be received, nor can they be accounted members of the Christian visible church*. And in another place † he goes farther, and says, *Let none therefore deceive themselves with their repentance and the regularity of their lives: — tho our lives be ever so regular, and our repentance ever so sincere and perfect, and nothing else be wanting, yet the wilful neglect of the ordinance of baptism only will*

f 4

obstruct

* Dr. Gale's Sermons, Vol. II. p. 216. 325. † Ibid. p. 199.

obstruct the remission of our sins and our acceptance with God.

Ibid. p. 170. 224. It is very groundlessly objected by the same Author, against our Saviour's adopting the rite of baptism from the custom of the Jews, that then Christians must also be obliged to baptize their pots, cups, &c. and it would likewise follow, that all natural relations would cease by Christian baptism, and incest and adultery be introduced into the Christian church; because, as he says, thus it was among the Jews: but supposing the Jews did make such a construction, how does this consequence follow from it? Because our Saviour has adopted a rite, made use of by them upon initiation into their religion, and applied it to the case of initiation into his, without particularizing the time or age when persons are to be so initiated, but leaving it in an indeterminate manner, so as to be inferred only from former usage, must he therefore necessarily intend, that his disciples should apply the like rite to all other foolish uses which they applied it to, and allow all the absurd and ridiculous inferences they drew from it? I cannot see the connexion between the premisses and this conclusion.

It is equally groundless to urge, that this rite must extend to children of Christians, upon presumption that it extends to all who need repentance, and it cannot be denied but the posterity of Christians stand in need of repentance as well as others; but sure it by no means follows, that because all who are converted, and upon their conversion baptized, must previously repent, that therefore all who need repentance must also be baptized; for if this argument has any force in it, it will prove more than is intended, viz. that even baptized Christians, as oft as they commit new sins to be repented of,

will

will also need to be again baptized to wash away those sins; but if baptism be a symbolical cleansing from such sins and defilement only, as are contracted in an infidel state, then indeed the impropriety of repeating it to baptized Christians, on account of their relapsing into sin, is sufficiently evident; but by the same reason the impropriety of applying it to the off-spring of Christian parents will equally appear.

But because several of the arguments made use of in this dispute seem to me founded upon a wrong view of the points in question, I would beg leave to offer the following observations to the consideration of the reader.

1. It is no question at all whether they, who believe themselves to be the intended subjects of that command, should not be baptized in such manner, and at such time, and under such circumstances, as they believe to be commanded. All therefore that is urged to shew the necessity of baptism, or the faultiness in neglecting it upon this supposition, is nothing to the purpose, for on this supposal it is a wilful disobedience to the command of God, and so becomes a plain immorality. It was this made the prophet Samuel 1 Sam. 15. say, *To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams*; and St. Paul, *Circumcision is nothing and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping the commandments of God*. If the Author above cited meant such a wilful neglect as this, I know no body will dispute it; but then I see not how this can consist with a regular life and a sincere repentance; but if he meant only the deliberate designed omission of any, who judge it not incumbent on them, I think his censure was highly presumptuous.

2. It is no question whether baptism be not a mere rite and ceremony, and therefore it cannot be

be doubted, which ought to give way in case of a competition between that and a moral duty, such as love and charity, preservation of life or health; for here our Saviour has resolved the case in the instance of the sabbath, an undeniable command of God, *Go ye,* says he, *and learn what that meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice.*

Mat. 12.
7.

3. It is no question, whether all who were converted from any other religion to the Christian were not required to be admitted by baptism. None such could refuse but upon the same account, for which they must likewise refuse to be Christians.

4. Nor is it any question, whether the Apostles were not thoroughly acquainted who were the proper subjects of baptism, and how and in what manner it was to be administer'd, since they received their commission directly from Christ, and had the assistance of the spirit to lead them into all truth. A refusal *then* must be a disowning of the Apostles, and cannot with any justice be compared to a neglect *now*, where there is no such certain authority to resort to for a decision.

5. It is no question, whether such as desired either on behalf of themselves only, or of themselves and families to be admitted by baptism into the body of Christians, did not always make profession of their belief in Christ, for without that upon what pretence could they desire to be baptized?

6. It is no question, at least not with those, with whom I am now arguing, whether the bare *opus operatum*, abstracted from its being performed in obedience to the divine command, will have any efficacy. All declamations therefore about *making this institution unprofitable* to any number more or less are quite void of argument, since

since no benefit can arise from the action itself but as it is done in conformity to the precept: With the same reason might the *Anti-pædobaptists* be charged with making the institution unprofitable to the far greatest part of Christ's disciples, meaning all that are under age, who in their opponents opinion are thought to receive great benefit thereby; but the weakness of this argument is thoroughly exposed by Dr. Gale, Sermon. Vol. II. p. 179. "Children, *says he*, had a right to circumcision only by virtue of the *command*, and "for want of that *command* they have now no "right to, nor any need of baptism, and we "can't reasonably apprehend any ill consequence "to the children from their not being brought "into covenant, as they talk, in this manner; "for God's goodness is not confined to rites "and ceremonies, even of his own appointment, "much less to those merely of human imposition; the females under the law were not circumcised, but lost no spiritual advantage for "want of circumcision."

The only question then is properly a matter of fact, *viz. How was it appointed by our Lord and Master Christ Jesus?* And this can be learnt, as I conceive, no other way but either from the words of the institution, or, where they are in general and indefinite terms, from some previously known custom; to which they may be supposed to refer, or from the apostolic practice immediately after.

And now I am upon this subject I think it proper to take notice of the censure, which a late Writer passes on a quotation of our Author from Vol. II. *Tertullian*, as if he had *alter'd* and *left out* to fit p. 409. it for his purpose*. In my judgment that Writer's

* See Mr. *Killingworth's* Supplement to the Sermons at *Salter's-hall* against Popery, p. 88.

ter's rendering is much more liable to objection, and has much greater appearance of being made to serve a purpose; however I have in this edition taken the liberty of translating it somewhat more literally, and to take off all objections have subjoined the passage at large in the original. What he complains of being left out is a *distinct* subsequent paragraph, and in my opinion makes nothing to the point; but since he calls them *decisive words, which serve to clear the whole*, I shall insert them here, and leave their pertinency to the reader's judgment. The words are these; *Ita omnis anima eousque in Adam censetur, donec in Christo recenseatur, tamdiu immunda, quamdiu recenseatur, peccatrix autem immunda, recipiens ignominiam ex carnis societate, &c.* Now what do these words decide? The question is not whether all, who are out of the pale of the church, are not in a state of [relative or political] uncleanness, for of that I think there is no dispute; but whether the children of Christian parents, born within the pale of the church, be not accounted *reckoned in Christ* by their birth without any further initiation by baptism. Do these words decide that question? If they do, it is against this Writer; for as *Tertullian* had just before been arguing from the Apostle's words, that *the children of a sanctified parent are clean from their birth*, his now adding, that *every soul is reckoned in Adam, and so long unclean, until it be again reckoned in Christ*, manifestly supposes *either*, that such children are by their *birth* reckoned in Christ, or at least, that they are immediately on their birth to be baptized; how else could they be *from their birth*, what the Apostle calls them, *clean or holy*? Let him take his choice of the two.

But

But to return once more to our Author. He was naturally of a very chearful lively temper, and enjoyed a large share of health in all respects, except the gout; but this by degrees impaired his strength, and by its annual returns much disabled him in his limbs, leaving behind it a continued weakness in those parts. As he lived in a constant preparation for his great change, so for many years before his death he had been expecting it, having arrived at an age beyond the common standard of human life, and out-lived most of his co-temporaries, and indeed till almost all the combatants were gone off the stage, tho many of them of younger standing than himself. He had therefore framed his mind to a ready willingness of departing, whenever the great Governor of the world should call him hence: "Here, *says he*, "it is designed we should stay some time, and "for *this* part we are so framed, that we perform it willingly enough; *the other* we should also chearfully perform, when the time set by "God and nature comes for going hence to be "consigned to our eternal abodes. We should "prepare so as with comfort and courage to expect and obey the summons, tho it be to go "from a world we are acquainted with to a place "and state unknown to us."

As he was conscious of his own sincerity he could not but justify himself to the last against *men*, and maintain his integrity against their censures and reproaches; yet he had humble thoughts of his own failings and unworthiness in the sight of *God*, still supporting himself with honourable sentiments of the divine goodness; for thus I find him reasoning on the case.

"When I contemplate the stupendous greatness of the universe, the vast and boundless spaces above, with the numerous, large, and "hugely

Isai. 40.
17.

“ hugely distant orbs, and the superior inhabi-
 “ tants, especially when I contemplate the im-
 “ mensity of that great God, who contains all,
 “ but is not comprehended in them, methinks
 “ this earth is quite lost, *it is all as nothing, less*
 “ *than nothing*, for so the prophet *Isaiab* ex-
 “ presses it; he thought he could not go too
 “ low in the comparison: Nay, I am almost
 “ tempted (tho I must guard against it) tempted,
 “ I say, even to despise my own being; and to
 “ think it of small consideration, what becomes
 “ of such a little scanty indigent thing, only I
 “ would not be miserable, and God is pleased to
 “ set some value on it, and on my happiness
 “ hereafter: *Oh what manner of love is this,*
 “ *wherewith the Father hath loved us!*

“ When I contemplate the mighty power and
 “ wisdom of the great Author of nature, I then
 “ think with myself, how happy shall I be, if I
 “ can get into the favour of this great Being.

“ When I consider the many marks of his be-
 “ neficent goodness and care, I persuade myself
 “ it is not hard to gain his friendship, if I seri-
 “ ously endeavour it by loving and obeying
 “ him above all. It is strange if I should not do
 “ this.

“ If I can love a *little* goodness, wisdom, and
 “ excellency in a poor mortal man, why shall I
 “ not much more love him, in whom *boundless*
 “ goodness, wisdom, power, and all excellencies
 “ meet?

“ When I see such glorious displays of his a-
 “ miable perfections at this distance from his seat
 “ of glory, I cannot but long to get nearer, to
 “ know and see and receive more of him.

“ If light be so sweet and pleasant to behold,
 “ when its shining lustre gives a beauty to the
 “ earth, and sets all its ornaments of herbs,
 “ flowers,

“ flowers, trees, &c. in so charming a view, as
“ ravishes the mind and cheers the heart, what
“ rapture and transport there, where light (now
“ inaccessible to mortal eyes, as too dazzling
“ and resplendent) shall make such strong im-
“ pressions, and present wonders of beauty to our
“ engaged views! Oh the pleasant inheritance of
“ *the saints in light!* ”

“ When I would know what hope I may
“ have, that my imperfect obedience with so
“ many defects may be accepted of God, and
“ pass for sincerity, I consider seriously the case
“ of Christ’s disciples on earth: they honestly
“ obeyed and loved their Lord, but had many
“ faults, were too earthly and ambitious in their
“ desires and aims: contention and strife, un-
“ belief and slowness of heart to believe, furious
“ revengeful zeal for their Lord; nay, and yet
“ forsaking him in time of temptation, with
“ great despair until his resurrection, were all
“ chargeable upon them; and yet Christ their
“ gracious Master owned and loved them still to
“ the end. He reproached, and rebuked, and
“ exhorted them, but yet cast them not off on
“ earth, nor barred them from the hope of hea-
“ ven, him only excepted, who with such settled
“ open wickedness directly betray’d him. Now
“ *Jesus Christ* was the image of God, of his ho-
“ linefs and goodness, so that I hope the same
“ goodness and holiness will grant the same mer-
“ ciful acceptance to me, and not reject me, tho I
“ have as great defects and blemishes as they had,
“ while I am truly bent on a course of obedience
“ to him, and am resolved not to quit his fa-
“ vour or service for any thing in the world, and
“ if I do any thing to dishonour him, am ready
“ to go out and weep bitterly. ”

“ This

“ This reasoning is a mighty comfort and en-
 “ couragement to my faith and hope, in the
 “ midst of any misgiving thoughts, for here I
 “ am not left to dispute with uncertain scholastic
 “ nicety what is consistent with sincerity, as I
 “ imagine, and may err, but I see the matter
 “ exemplified in fact and real experience.

“ Every offence, which may provoke a fa-
 “ ther's displeasure, does not make him cast off
 “ his son for ever and disinherit him, *Mal. 3. 17.*
 “ I cannot therefore believe, that God, who is the
 “ best Being, doth study to make his unhappy
 “ creatures *as miserable* for ever as he can, but
 “ rather *as little* so, as their condition or nature
 “ will admit, for *he does not willingly afflict or*
 “ *grieve the children of men,* *Eam. 3. 33.*

For the last two or three years of his life, he was grown much feebler, and about a year before his death received a violent shock, which it was fear'd would have carried him off; but he so well recover'd from it, that he weather'd the next winter, tho' a severe one, without any farther breach upon his health. On *Friday* the 17th of *July* he was suddenly taken in the night with a violent pain in his bowels, which weaken'd him exceedingly; the next day this pain left him, and he grew so much better for the three days following, that he was judged by those about him to be out of immediate danger, and so continued all that week, altho' with great weakness, chiefly in his limbs.

1741.

July 25.

On the *Saturday* following two or three friends came to see him, with whom he conversed in good spirits, and seemed as well and as chearful as he had been for some time past, tho' the getting out of bed was a fatigue to him. He then expressed a great satisfaction in the testimony of a
 good

good conscience, that in godly sincerity he had had his conversation in the world, not with fleshly wisdom, and that what he had done was not, and indeed could not be from worldly views, but as he judged for the honour of God, and the truth of his Gospel. There is, said he, such a thing as joy in the Holy Ghost; I have known it, and oh, how much is it beyond all the Joys of this world! At the same time he expressed a very thankful Sense of the goodness of God in supporting and comforting him under all the trials he had past through, and an humble sense of his own defects and unworthiness, saying, He thought it a very proper Address for a man to leave the world with, Lord, be merciful to me a sinner.

As towards the latter part of his life his thoughts had been much taken up about the invisible world, they were now so much the more so, as he perceived himself drawing near to it; he would gladly have had some more clear and distinct notion of the manner of existence of separate spirits; but, said he, we should be content to leave that to God; it is enough, that we may, as our blessed Lord did, commend our spirits into the hands of our heavenly Father. This he himself did at that time with great seriousness.

On Sunday he was suddenly seized with a feverish disorder, which continuing that day, and the next, afforded but little hopes of his recovery; on Tuesday the symptoms abated, and he was somewhat better; but on Wednesday they returned with more violence, so that on Thursday fore-
July 30.
 noon, nature being quite exhausted, both himself and all about him perceived his end to be very near. He enjoyed his Intellects to the last, but about five of the clock in the afternoon was speechless; and at eleven at night, after a few struggles of nature, breathed forth his Spirit into

the hands of his gracious God, and so was released from the bonds of this tabernacle, just thirty six years after his release from his imprisonment; and I doubt not is now at rest from his labours, and knows what he was so desirous of knowing, *viz.* the happiness of the intermediate state to them, who die in the Lord. Thus he departed this life in peace, but not till he had first seen the salvation of God, both in his own deliverance from the hands of his persecutors, who were stronger than he, and also in the deliverance of those sacred truths, for which he suffered, from the odium and reproach they had long lain under; for *tho' he suffered trouble, as an evil doer, even unto bonds, yet the word of God was not bound.*

2 Tim. 2.
9.

He had struggled hard with the powers of darkness*, and came off victoriously; he had faithfully performed the task assigned him without shuffling or prevaricating, and persevered therein to the end, so that he might truly say with the great Apostle, *I have fought the good fight; I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; and I question not, there is henceforth laid up for him a crown of righteousness,* for of such as are persecuted for righteousness sake, our Saviour has himself assured us, that *great is their reward in heaven.*

2 Tim. 4.
7.

Matt. 5.
12.
Luke 6.
23.

Thus lived, thus died this excellent, holy, good man, this eminently faithful servant of God, and in him, give me leave to say it, the world has lost one of the brightest examples of substantial unaffected

Eph. 6. * If any thing be properly the work of the Devil or of
12. the rulers of the darkness of this world, it is the raising
Rev. 12. storms of persecution against the sincere and upright servants
10. of God; for it is He who is represented as the Accuser of
1 Pet. 5. 8. the brethren, as going about seeking whom he may devour,
Rev. 2. 10. and of him it is said, that he shall cast some of the saints in
to prison.

unaffected piety, of serious rational devotion, of a steady unshaken integrity, and an undaunted Christian courage. And as the departure of excellent and holy men out of this world should abate our fondness for it, so methinks it should animate our desires, and quicken our endeavours after that state, which they are retired into; for to use his own words upon a like occasion, "tho' there may be other motives *more weighty*, *Pref. to*
 "yet there is hardly any thing that *more sensibly* *Funeral*
 "and easily intices our thoughts into the invi- *Consolat.*
 "sible world, than this consideration, that so
 "many of our valuable friends are withdrawn
 "within the veil."

I am well aware, that throughout these Memoirs I have given vent to my affection for the deceased Author, whose memory will ever be dear to me while I have any remembrance of myself, or enjoy the use of my understanding; but tho' in *some* particulars I may have been too minute, yet as I am persuaded I have in *nothing* advanced beyond the bounds of truth, so I hope, that the near relation I stood in to him, the many and great obligations I have received from him will bespeak me some favourable indulgence, while I am paying this last tribute to his memory.

SOLLOM EMLYN.

Here follows his Epitaph as it was first designed in *Latin*, and as it was afterwards inscribed on his Tomb-stone in *English*.

Memoirs of the Life

H. S. E.

THOMAS EMLYN V. D. M.

Stamfordiæ in Agro Lincolnienſi natus
xxvii^{mo} die Maij, anno Salutis MDCLXIII.

Pietate, eruditione, ac iudicio

Non parùm inſignis,

Apud *Dublinienſes* per undecim annos

Officium pervigilis Paſtoris

Summâ cum laude, summâ cum diligentia exercuit,
Quædam verò dogmata (heterodoxa ut vocabantur) amplexus

Officio eiectus eſt, ſtipendio ſpoliatus,

In carcerem detrufus, et mille libris mulctatus,
Propterea quòd Monarchiam, et ſupremam Majeſtatem
Summi Dei Patris aſſeruerat.

Post binos denique annos elapſos

Carcere liberatus in Angliam rediit,

Ubi primariam illam Chriſtianæ Fidei veritatem

Tam ſtrenuè vindicavit, tam lucidis argumentis ſuffulſit,

Ut nullus quidem reſponſo locus ſupereſſet.

Senio tandem confectus et arthritide perfractus,

Viribus obrepente febre penitus exhaustis,

Fato ſuccubuit xxx^{mo} die Julij anno MDCCXLI.

Spe lætâ beatæ reſurrectionis

Ad vitam æternam.



Here lie the Remains

Of the Reverend Mr. *THOMAS EMLYN*,

Eminent for his great piety and learning,

Strong parts and sound judgment.

Born at *Stamford* in *Lincolnshire*

May 27. 1663.

He was Pastor to a congregation

Of Protestant Dissenters at *Dublin*,

Which office he discharged during eleven years

With great faithfulness, diligence, and applause.

But having maintained the supreme unequal'd Majesty

Of the **ONE GOD** and **FATHER** of all,

He was to the shame and reproach of a Christian country

Persecuted even to Bonds and Imprisonment

And the spoiling of his goods;

All which he endured with great patience and constancy,

With such firmness and fortitude of mind,

As left no room to doubt his integrity,

And in his writings supported that important truth

With such strength of reason and argument,

As left no room to make a Reply.

At length, full of days and ripe for glory,

He departed this life in peace

July 30. 1741.

In joyful hope of a blessed Resurrection

To eternal Life.



A P P E N D I X.

Nº I.

Meditations on my afflicted condition. 1704.

(I.)

O My God, what a change hast thou made in my outward condition! once the light of thy providence shone pleasantly on my tabernacle; I had abundance of prosperity and fulness. I had a dear and pleasant companion in whom I securely trusted, but thou hast removed the desire of mine eyes with an early stroke. I had a tolerable esteem, and a multitude of friends, but am now become their scorn and by-word, and my acquaintance and friends stand afar off. I had a delightful habitation, which is now exchanged for a prison; nay, I had once great opportunity to serve thy honour, and to do good to men by instructing them in thy will, and by persuading them to do it; but am now laid by from all that desirable service in thy beautiful courts. O Lord of hosts, my God and my King, my soul still thirsts and longs to behold thee in thy temple. Oh, how uncertain is this world's good! I see now by experience, that all flesh is but grass, and all the glory of man but as the flower of the field, which for a while spreads its beautiful leaves, and sends out its fragrant odours, and is with pleasure admired by every eye,

eye, but in a day or two it fades and dies, and there remains nothing but a poor neglected despised stalk. Such has my worldly glory been. O vanity of vanities, all is vanity.

(2.)

My God, I intend not in all this complaint to arraign the equity of thy wise providence, as tho' thou had'st done any wrong to thy poor sinful creature. Tho' what I have suffered from merciless men be not (as thou knowest right well) for any unrighteousness in my hand, but only for thy name and truth's sake, as my soul is verily persuaded, and according to the best judgment I can make from thy holy Scriptures; yet O Lord, when I remember thy hand is in all this, I fall upon my face in confusion, whilst I see my own unworthiness, which thou may'st justly punish. With men I will justify myself, I will hold fast my righteousness, and not let go my integrity till I die, but with thee, O God, I will not contend; thou art righteous and I am sinful, for tho thy grace hath kept me from gross and scandalous crimes, yet am I vile in my own eyes, and cannot but take shame to myself, that in the days of my prosperity, I was not more thankful for thy favours, that I brought forth no more fruit, that I was not more active in thy service. I became too secure and inconsiderate, so that after gentler corrections thou hast now laid thy hand heavy upon me, that I may not *despise* thy chastenings. O Lord grant, that I may not *faint* under them.

(3.)

And this, O Lord, thou knowest is my greatest burden in all my adversity, that I have done any thing to provoke thy displeasure. I am

sometimes apt to think, as if thou hadst turn'd me out of thy service, as an unprofitable servant, and laid me aside as a broken vessel, in which thou hast no pleasure. Chasten me, O God, if thou wilt, but let it not be in thy wrath; rebuke thy offending creature, if thou pleasest, but let it not be in thy hot displeasure; correct thou mine iniquity with thy rod, if thou seeest good, and my transgressions with stripes, but so that thy loving kindness may not depart from me, nor thy faithfulness fail me. Smite me with the frowns of a friend, and shew me the light of thy countenance, and I will lay me down in peace, tho my corn and my wine increase not.

(4.)

And yet, O Lord, I would not be too censorious of thy ways, nor put the worst interpretation upon thy providential rebukes. I remember, of old thou didst afflict thy servant *Job* for a proof of his piety, rather than a punishment of his sin, and that the afflictions of thy people are often temptations or trials of their faith and patience by which thou expectest they should glorify thee in showing what they can endure for thee, and this especially, when they suffer persecution from *men* for conscience towards *God*. This is my case, and tho I will be humbly mindful of my sins, as one corrected for his faults, yet will I encourage myself as one called out to a glorious combat by my great Master, for whose peerless glory I am jealous, and for this cause I will not faint, through his grace. It may be it is the design of my good Master to put honour upon me, and bring glory to himself, by singling me out as a champion before men and angels to maintain his cause in those words of my Saviour, *My Father is greater than I*. My silence perhaps may speak, and

of Mr. Thomas Emlyn.

CV

and my sufferings for thee be more serviceable to thy honour, than any other services I could do. Lord help me so to demean myself by patience, courage, and chearful submission under all my tribulations, that I may glorify thy name and bear an honourable testimony to thy truth, and then I shall count it all joy to have had such trials. I am thy vessel, and thou may'st put me to what use thou wilt, use me so as may be most for thy own glory, whatever befalls me, who am then most honoured, when I can serve most to thy praise.

(5.)

I have carefully examined into the occasion of my sufferings from uncharitable men, and am greatly assured, that my persecuted opinion is the truth of thy gospel, and yet if it should not be so, that I suffer for *truth*, yet sure I am, I do for *conscience*, which thou wilt accept; for I find no temptation to draw me, but the pure conviction of my mind. I could have esteem, prosperity and friends, but since I cannot have these without belying my own judgment, and thy gospel, I freely renounce them, and am glad I have any thing to lose for thy sake; I will count them but dung in comparison of the true knowledge of thy Son Christ Jesus my Lord, and I bid welcome to my afflictions, to my losses, to my reproaches, to my bonds, and all my persecutions for thy sake. I am contented with my blessed Lord to be counted a *blasphemer* and an *heretic* by men, whilst I am sound and right in thy esteem. But tho I suffer unto bonds, O Lord, let not thy word be bound, but run and be glorified in spite of all the opposition of a malignant and untoward generation, who think they do thee service by inhuman cruelties done to thy servants,

vants, and whose mistaken religion lies so much in doing mischief to those, that conscientiously differ from them.

(6.)

It is to me an unspeakable consolation, that there is another bar, where my cause shall be heard over again, and where I shall not be denied the liberty of speaking for myself; for tho my persecutors are now stronger than I, yet then we shall stand upon even ground. It is therefore a small thing for me to be judged of man's judgment, since he, who shall finally judge me, is the Lord. Oh! how comfortable is it to think, that after all the reproaches cast upon me by men, my God shall say, *Well done, well suffer'd, my good and faithful servant*; that when they have done troubling thee shalt say, *Enter thou into my joy*. O Lord how long, how long! Nay, it is a great satisfaction to me, that even *now* my lot is appointed by thee; cruel men may think, they may do as they list, and set no bounds to their rage, but, O Lord, I have said, *my times are in thy hands*, not an hair shall fall from my head but what is numbred by thee, nor a tear but what is put into thy bottle, and in thine own time thou wilt say to human rage, Your proud waves shall go no farther. O Lord, I cannot be in better hands than in thine; thou hast so much wisdom, justice, and goodness, that I ought to be perfectly satisfied in all thy determinations.

(7.)

O Lord I am thine, thou may'st do with thine own what thou pleasest; I had much rather be in bonds and straits, under reproaches and necessities for honouring my God, than to be at liberty and ease, to be great and full, and God's glory and interest

interest to be a loser by it. Thou knowest best what my soul's condition requires, it may be prosperity or deliverance would slay me, and whilst I crave thy relieving hand for ease, thou mayst know, that further smart and pain is needful for me. O Lord, humble me and prove me, so that it may be for my good in my latter end; I would not be so inordinate in my love to this flesh, as to desire peace and quiet, when my soul's welfare forbids it; Lord give me my portion of sorrows here, rather than hereafter. Give me now my evil things, that then I may be comforted, and then I'll say in very faithfulness thou didst correct me.

(8.)

I know there remains a rest for the people of God, and they are blessed, who have enter'd into it. I rejoice even in the distant views of that good land. Having thy sure promise of an eternal paradise, where all tears are wiped away, I reckon all the sufferings of this life not worthy to be compared with that glory; Oh comfortable thought! oh glorious hope! that renders all afflictions here light and contemptible. I know ere long I shall be out of the reproaches of the censorious and the fury of my persecutors; the grave will be a quiet contented prison, and where then is the fury of the oppressor? Heaven affords peaceful mansions, where all sorrows are forgotten or rather are turned into joys. Were I but singing Hallelujahs in that triumphant choir of the blessed, where harmonious love tunes all the parts of that numerous consort into one melodious song of joyful admiring praises, how little should I care, what ill usage I had met with in the world I came from! There will be no aggravating of losses or sufferings

sufferings by those, who are come out of great tribulations to walk with the Lamb in white.

It is an unspeakable solace to me, when I can enter into that world by intent meditation, when faith and hope mount me up, so as to look above the tops of earthly objects, and to glance into those regions of wonder, then I see what makes the world's favours and frowns both alike contemptible, then I perceive there is no great difference between a moment's pleasure and a moment's pain here; but what a mighty difference between heaven and earth! between those my dear friends, who are got to their safe pleasant home, and me, who am yet wandering afar off; between them, who are in possession of the promised land, and me, who am groaning in this wilderness; between them, who have received part of their reward, and me who am bearing the heat of the day in service! For this cause I faint not, while I wait for thy salvation; I am glad to embrace thy promises now, truly they are better to me than thousands of gold or silver. Lord open these heavens to the eyes of my faith, as thou didst to the senses of thy suffering servant *St. Stephen*, that this may fill me with joy in all my trials. O Lord, I have longed for thy salvation, to change this malignant dark vile world for the pure and calm regions of eternal light and love and peace, that I may meet my dear departed friends, may meet them in the presence of God, singing in that triumphant choir, may meet them at the fountain of living waters without one tear in their eyes, or one complaint in their mouths, full of raptures and transports of perfect joys!

And yet, O Lord, I would not be so impatient of any trial, whereby I may serve thy glory, as to wish my conflicts to end, before thy wise purposes are served: While I can honour thee, I

am content still to suffer, and when thou seest an opportunity of my honouring thee more by *active* than by *passive* service, then do thou restore and free me; but longer than I can be instrumental in promoting thy service I desire not to remain on this unquiet stage; it shall not be the bare pleasure of living, eating and drinking, of getting gain, or enjoying a few mortal companions, that shall make me fond of this world.

(10.)

And yet I find it so hard to raise my desires above this earth, that I admire thy wisdom in making this state so uneasy, that being crossed here, I might give over vain carnal pursuits, and bend more earnestly towards heaven. If notwithstanding my bondage I am so fond of this *Egypt*, if when through my troubles it might be expected I should be glad to go down into the grave for retirement, I am yet so loth to leave this earthly habitation, and when thou art seeming to call me hence, I still crave more delay; how strong, methinks, would the enchantments of this world be, if I had no disturbance in it. If I heard nothing but *Siren* songs, and rolled on with pleasure in *Halcyon* days; if no dear relations did die, nor friends prove false or unkind, nor enemies base and cruel, nor any afflictions disturb my repose, I fear, I should forget the way home, and loiter grievously in my Christian course; such a calm sea would not further me in my voyage, as a few rough gales. Thou, who knowest the best way to draw me out of this snare, hast taught me by thy rebukes not to rest here; and that my heart may find no temptation to settle below, thou hast taken away the dearest objects of my love, that so my affections may follow after, and by this art be translated from earth

to

to heaven, that when I stand gazing after my ascended endeared companions, I may, so often at least, look towards heaven; and whilst calamities here draw off my heart from things *below*, thy grace and thy love may draw it kindly to things *above*.

(II.)

Thou hast bid me love thee with all my heart and soul. How happy were I, could I but take this counsel! How much better should I find it to love my God, than any earthly delight! I have loved mortal friends and comforts, and my love is turned into grief. Either I find my love ungratefully rejected, and then it is uneasy not to be beloved again; or my love soon expatiates itself in wider compass, than the object can fill, and then I am pained, that I cannot satisfy it at large, or else, the desire of my eyes is removed with a stroke, and then what good is there in a mourning pining love, that spends it self in uncomfortable lamentations? Had that love been set on my God, it had found no such disappointment. Did I love thee never so much, I am sure thy love would be returned in far greater degree; on thy boundless glory and goodness my eager affections might expatiate themselves to the utmost, and thou would'st bear loving still more, so that my soul's desires would be swallowed up in that ocean of beauty, which it cannot receive nor yet fathom. How sweet is it to love so lovely a being, and to clasp about thee with the flames of ardent zeal! Could I love thee more than a worldling his treasures, or the Epicure his pleasures, I should joy more in that love, than they. Thou, who hast bid me thus love thee, can surely enable me to do it, one powerful touch of thy grace, one attractive look of thy amiable reconciled countenance, one spark of that divine flame

flame would set me on fire with fervours of affection, and make me eagerly press forward, till I come to thee the centre of my soul's delight and desires. I may repent, that I have loved empty and fading creatures, and set mine eyes on what is not; but I shall never repent, that I have loved thee, save that it was too little.

(12.)

Why should it seem grievous to me, that the world hates me? Am I the more out of the way to heaven for going through much tribulation? Do I not find, that affliction and ill usage has been the portion of the most, and the most eminent servants of God? When I remember *Joseph* in bonds, *Elias* and *Job*, *Jeremy* and *Daniel* in all their troubles, that the holy *Jesus* was a man of sorrows, and the holy Apostles the off-scouring of the world, when I find how many Saints were afflicted, destitute, and tormented, when I read the inventory of *St. Paul's* sufferings, and those, of whom the world was not worthy; then I think, who am I, that I should think through my conduct or innocence to escape the world's hatred? Shall I not rejoice to be the companion of such excellent persons? I remember, God supported them in all their trials, that they were not forsaken, tho persecuted, and that they had at last a glorious deliverance. Well then, I will hope in the God of my salvation, and tho cruel men devour me, tho they tear my name and my substance, tho they tear my family, and tear my body, yet thy grace is sufficient, and thy rewards liberal; I will acquiesce in thy providence, which permits it, and wait for the gracious issue. Tho he slay me, yet will I trust in him.

(13.)

(13.)

What a contemptible business is earthly prosperity, when I consider it well ! How many have I known to spread themselves as a green bay-tree, but they are passed away and are not, I go to their places, but they are not found ; they grew rich and the glory of their house increased, but they died and their glory descended not after them, their wealth, their power, &c. did not preserve them from sickness and pain, from dying agonies, and from rotting in the grave. The man, who strutted in pomp and equipage, who flourished in strength and beauty, and bustled with noise and figure, lies down and groans, gasps and dies, and makes only a little dunghill for worms, saying to corruption, *Thou art my father*. So ends the inglorious scene.

Even at *present* there is no such great advantage on the side of riches and grandeur, as the deluded world are apt to think. The noble and the *great* have *great* uneasinesses, *great* envyings, and strifes, and crosses ; and the *mighty* are *mightily* tormented ; prosperity and pride make them nice and humourfome, they swell and fret, like *Haman*, for a trifle ; when the *meaner* sort are humble, quiet, and patient. The *rich* have the wealth, and the *poor* content and peace. Those have *great* possessions and *little* enjoyment, *much* pomp and noise but *little* relish, *many* flatterers but *few* friends ; they have *all things* and possess *nothing*, while the poor Christian having *nothing* possesses *all things*. In one word, I see men oft contented with a *little*, but scarce any contented with a great deal.

N^o II.

*Some Observations on the Representation by
the Lower House of Convocation to Queen
Anne. June, 1711.*

*Supposed to be drawn up by Dr. Francis Atterbury
their Prolocutor.*

IN the paragraph relating to the Unitarians, they make it matter of complaint, That *they had proceeded so far as even to set up a religious assembly, where divine worship was publicly performed.* Here I observe,

I. That they represent it as a *great crime*, that they joined for public *divine worship* according to their *principles*; while the upper house reckon it a crime, that many, under pretence of liberty, frequent *no assembly* for public worship. Would these men have them cast off *all public worship*? or would they have them worship God *not according to their principles*? one of the two must be intended. It seems then the age would not be so corrupt, if men, who differ thus from the *Athanasian* faith, would either wholly cast off all public worship of almighty God and become atheistical, or would worship him with feigned lips, joining with those, who solemnly profess their undoubted damnation; and yet this very compliance shall at other turns be counted *atheistic latitude and indifference*. Suppose they are in an error, can it be a crime to act according to their best light? or do such as err, owe no worship to God? Astonishing! Did ever a *Convocation* before this shew such zeal, as to censure the erroneous for wor-
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shipping God? or for doing it according to their *principles?* Dare they say, there is any crime in worshipping *the God and Father of Jesus Christ*, whom *alone* our Lord *Jesus* worshipped? or in worshipping Christ as mediator? Suppose they do omit *some* parts of worship, is there any crime in performing the *other*, which themselves allow and practise? I never thought a *Jew* or *Mahometan* was to be *reproached* for adoring the *great Creator* and God of all; nor did I think there had been *such a body of Ministers* in the Christian Church, as would have published such a *strange notion*. Whatever *severities* some of us have suffer'd for our *faith*, I hope we shall not cease for any human violence to worship the God of our fathers, tho never so many convocations reproach us for it. Sure the *Deists* please some clergy wondrous well; and wholly to leave off the worshipping God conscientiously must needs be a mighty reformation.

But say *they* it is in *defiance of the law*, others think *not*; but had it been so, what are mortal *men* or *human* ordinances, if they be found opposite to the *truth*, and the authority of the *great God*? St. *Peter* and St. *John* told the *Jewish Convocation* to their face, *Acts* 5. 29. *They would obey God, rather than men*. This is so far from *promoting infidelity*, from *undermining Christianity*, or from *enmity to all religion*, as the Representation says, that on the contrary their suffering the *violence of men* for their *faith in Christ* is a greater proof of their firm belief of the Christian religion, than any dignitary in the church ever gave by accepting preferments, or an eager ambition after more. It is much easier to *persecute* than to *suffer* for religion, to sit on the bench, with the secular judge, as an Archbishop, to inflame the court against one, who conscientiously differs in his

his interpretation of the sacred text, than to suffer bonds, spoiling of goods, and insulting reproaches from them who live at *ease*, and can be *ignorant* at a *cheaper* rate.

Blasphemy and *pestilent errors* are the common *easy* terms, which scolding Divines use, and commonly signify no more than the being against the humour of the *State-Clergy*, and may be *easily* returned. Christ was not condemned but under a charge of *blasphemy*, and St. Paul was a *pestilent fellow*, if we may believe the eloquent *Prolocutor* of the *Jewish Convocation*, Acts 24. 5.

II. That there are several *false* things averred :

1. That they set up an *assembly* on *Unitarian* principles, which they did not, but upon *Catholic* principles, refusing none, who *believed the Gospel*, and *obeyed its precepts* in sincerity, however they might *differ* in their interpretation, lamenting the *narrow uncharitable* principles of *so many other assemblies*.

2. That weekly sermons were preached in *defence of those principles*. Indeed the *Unitarians* have sufficiently *defended* their principles in a more public manner, and over and over again importuned the convocation to hear them ; but *in that assembly* it was never once professedly done, it being judged more useful to edify men in serious godliness and *practical* religion, than to promote any dry *speculations*. He who has most reason to know what was done there, knows these their assertions to be *false*.

Now that such a body of the clergy under the venerable name of an *holy council* or *synod*, professing to lament the corruptions of the age, and to speak in behalf of God and religion, should dare to assert such barefaced *untruths* in matters of fact ; nay, and presume to lay them before her Majesty

and the world, this, I say, is an instance of the impiety of the age, that may deserve to be put into the next *Representation*, and shews that the contagion is *far spread* indeed. It is to be hoped however, that *truth* and *honesty* will still be loved and valued by the *Laity*, whatever bad examples are set them; and as to the body of the *Clergy*, I hope the weight of this reproach belongs chiefly to the *Compiler* of the representation, by whose daring rashness in asserting these things at all adventures others might be drawn into an unwary attestation of what is false upon the credit of a loose report, for I don't find them to have been very much disposed to any serious examination of *faith* or *facts*.

Nº III.

Of apparent Contradictions, and the use of Reason in Religion.

TO what is urged by some, that we must believe, tho it seem a contradiction—I answer,
 1. That a *real* contradiction is what no man ought to pretend to believe, because it is not true. If it be said, that in some instances of philosophy they can demonstrate both sides of the contradiction, as in the instance of indivisibility of matter, I deny it, because nothing can be demonstrated to be true, against which there lies as full a demonstration that it is false. Let the most learned man in the world assure me, never so warmly, that he can demonstrate one side of it, yet if I can demonstrate as clearly the contrary side, I shall not believe both, neither ought he; I must at most but suspend my assent, where the evidence is equal.

2. As to mens allegation, that it may be only a *seeming* contradiction, which they maintain; I answer, a *real* contradiction will seem so; and if I must believe all *seeming* contradictions, then I must believe *real* ones, but if it be *only a seeming* one, then let it be shown, that it is not a *real* one, and the work is done. I ought no more to assent to what seems *false*, to the injury of *truth*, than to practise what to me seems *sin* to the prejudice of *virtue*. One tells me it is but a *seeming* contradiction, which he teaches me, and fathers upon the text; why may not I as well tell him, that his interpretation is but the *seeming* meaning of the text or a *seeming* inference from it? especially if he cannot so demonstratively prove, that determinate sense only to belong to the text, as I can prove, what he proposes, to be a contradiction, without which he has nothing to do to urge the text, which it is as likely he mistakes, as that I am mistaken in a plain contradiction, the terms of which I do understand, and therefore reject not, because it is *above* my reason, but because I clearly understand it to be a contradiction, and so is *against* my reason?

If it be urged farther, that I must believe Almighty God, tho he seem to speak contradictions; I answer, He never speaks such, nor requires me to believe what I cannot judge to be other than so. I cannot desire any thing that is good under the appearance of evil, nor believe any truth under the plain appearance of falshood, and they who tell me, I must not deny my assent to apparent contradictions supported by a text, (as they interpret it) *seem* to express mighty veneration for the Scriptures, but really undermine their authority, and teach men infidelity; for unless apparent contradiction be to me a sure *criterion* of falshood in any proposition, how can I distinguish

distinguish truth from falshood? Nay, how can I know, that God, the God of truth, will not lie, but because it appears to me a contradiction, that he should? or how can I press infidels to yield faith to the Scriptures or to the Christian religion, but by such evidence, as they cannot deny without running upon apparent contradictions? this is all we have to vanquish Atheism and Infidelity by. But now if an infidel is run down, and cannot maintain his cause without manifest contradiction to his own principles, and is ready to yield, if I say he hearkens to these men, who are for crediting apparent contradictions, he will take courage, and say, tho I cannot deny your argument, yet since you tell me I must believe what appears to me a contradiction, and such you call me to believe, I'll hold where I am, for why should I be scared from infidelity by contradictions, and turn to that faith, where I shall meet them again full in the face?

You will say God has attested them, and therefore they are not *real* contradictions; he'll reply, then it may possibly be no contradiction for God to have said it, and yet not to have said it; for I cannot be sure of a contradiction in this, if I cannot be sure of it in other cases, which I think as plain as this; nay, I may then mistake your evidence, and think it strong and good, when it is not so, as well as mistake that for a clear contradiction, which you tell me is not any. I verily believe this way of arguing for the belief of such mysteries, as seem to be direct contradictions, instead of making it manifest, that they are not so, has made many infidels in this age, and is like to make many more, unless Divines change their method, and make their creeds more consistent.

An apparent contradiction, is what no man does nor can believe. 'Tis an *idol*, a nullity, or fiction, which some abject ignoble minds may basely prostrate their understandings to with obsequious blind veneration, as ignominiously, as others do their bodies to a stock or a stone. 'Tis a spiritual idolatry to pay the homage of our faith to a nullity, which is the worship due to truth alone; but still he, that pretends to believe it, does not truly do it; because there is no object, there can be no acting upon it, 'tis but a dream of faith, tho they fancy themselves awake.

But why should any reject the argument from manifest contradiction in the case of *some* doctrines, who in *other* parts of their systems of divinity are forward to argue from the same topic. There are many writings deemed by some to be canonical and the works of inspired authors, which yet are rejected, but never more confidently, than when proved to contain things contradictory to themselves, or to what is deliver'd in less doubted canonical writings, because, say we, God cannot contradict himself; but this is no argument against their being God's word with them, who allow the Scriptures not only in the letter, but in its true interpretation, to contain seeming contradictions.

Nay, why do Divines trouble themselves with critical searches and studies to reconcile the *seeming* contradictions of the Bible in other points? not only in chronology and history, but in points of faith? What ado has there been to reconcile St. Paul and St. James about justification by faith and works? Methinks they, who have got the expedient of admitting seeming contradictions in sense to be none, when they can find some countenance for them from the text, need not be at

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this trouble. It were a shorter cut in all controversies, when contradictions are urged, to say they are but *seeming* contradictions, and so but *seeming* arguments. But I find these men are not satisfied without a rational solution of the difficulties urged, and therefore hunt after them incessantly, (and so they do in matters of mystery too till they are out of hopes) which is a sign, that the mind cannot rest at ease with that slight expedient; and therefore they try for better satisfaction, which if they cannot obtain, they are ready in other cases to own themselves in the dark, or but inquirers. Why not so in mysterious points?

Perhaps it will be said here, that in relation to the nature and perfections of the infinite God we cannot judge what propositions are contradictory, as in other cases, where we better know the objects we speak of. I *answer*, It is not at all needful to know the nature of God in order to judge of a contradiction propounded concerning him, because the contradiction may be plain between the propositions delivered and asserted, let them be said of what subject you will: To be and not to be in the same sense at the same time, is plainly a contradiction of whatever it be asserted.

If it be said, but still you cannot know the meaning of the terms of any proposition concerning an infinite object, which you comprehend not: I *answer*, This is strange, for surely I can tell what is an affirmation, and what a negation, tho I should not know what the thing is, which is affirmed and denied (at the same time) of the same, tho unknown, subject or infinite God. And if I cannot know the meaning of any proposition concerning God, then how should Christians be said to know God at all, or above infidels?

dels? For at this rate I believe nothing of God, since faith is sense and meaning; to believe greatly, and mean nothing, or perceive nothing, is no great virtue. Why then do men preach these propositions and articles of God? or how am I edified by words quite unintelligible?

But farther, these men, who talk at this wild rate, are not sincere in their argument, for themselves own a contradiction may be understood to be between some propositions concerning the nature of the incomprehensible God, since they often tell us, that if they asserted *God was three persons, and yet but one person*, it would be granted to be a contradiction, but that *three persons in one essence* is not such, because it is not *one* and *three* in the same sense. Does not this fully show, that they do believe and own, that a man may clearly know some propositions about the infinite God to be contradictory and inconsistent? If then it can be shown, that the *Trinitarians* maintain propositions as plainly contradictory, as those which they grant to be such, the argument must then be allowed to be just, or else there is no use of reasoning on any subject in the world.

I would therefore presume to admonish the zealous defenders of the common doctrine of *Trinity in Unity*, that they would not make so light of the objection of a contradiction in their creeds, nor put it off after the usual manner, by pretending, that it is only a *seeming* contradiction, and that being *above* reason, we cannot tell whether there be any contradiction in it, tho it is confessed it seems such after all the ways we can think of to clear it. Would they do any real service to their cause, the true way is to shew, that there is no palpable contradiction in their faith, as their adversaries charge, that either they own no such propositions, or else make it out, that

that there is no inconsistency between them. Let them clear the seeming contradictions of the propositions, tho they don't pretend to fathom the glory of the infinite *Jehovah*, since it is allowed the one may be discover'd without the other. In this if our learned men will successfully acquit themselves, they'll act like wise and sincere men, and as they use to do in other difficulties of Scripture, and their adversaries will own they treat them like reasonable creatures.

But if they will take no other way to exalt and establish the Christian faith, but by running down reason so low, as not to allow it to judge of the plainest propositions, or terms of a contradiction in reference to almighty God, I am afraid by this way of running down *reason* they will make men suspect they have something very *unreasonable* to impose upon them, which is a method rather of making *infidels* than *converts*; and if to this they join that of persecuting those, who can't attain to believe what to them seems a clear contradiction, they will not only help to make *infidels*, but by the want of charity may themselves become *worse than an infidel*, notwithstanding their fiery zeal for that faith, which works not by love, but by hatred and rage. *By your fruits ye shall know them.* Mat. 7. 20.

Antecedent to revelation I must believe the being and veracity of God, this is made out by my reason, *Rom. 1. 20.* so that the foundation of all religion is laid in reason; now afterwards to say, I must not trust my reason in inquiries about this God and his attributes, is to subvert that very foundation. To use reason against *Atheists*, and deny the use of it against *Heretics*, is to expose all to the former, and is the giving up *all religion* on pretence of defending *one article*. I may believe nothing of God's *natural* perfections contrary to reason,

reason, nor of his *moral*, contrary to undoubted notions of virtue and justice.

No man can believe explicitly what he does not understand, for faith is an act of the understanding. I may believe implicitly, that something or other, more than I know, is true; but I cannot say what, nor make a distinct article of it; for to believe any thing in particular more than I understand, is believing I know not what, *i. e.* nothing at all in particular.

Object. Don't we say, we believe God's *eternity*, &c. tho we can't conceive it? I answer, We believe nothing but what we do conceive of it. We frame a notion of *without beginning* and *without end*, and according to this notion we believe God *eternal*, and so of other attributes; but we do not believe expressly the true and just perfections of God, only what we conceive by those terms; so that it may be said hereafter in eternal light, that we did not believe one half of the glory and perfections of God; for to say, it is beyond conception, and yet within our belief, is a cheat on ourselves. He that says his creed without any meaning, is an unbeliever, as much as he, whom he damns in his *anathema* at the conclusion. *Faith comes by hearing*, says St. Paul, Rom. 10. and why so? only because, that is the way of conveying ideas and helping the understanding; else one might as soon believe *without a preacher*, vers. 14. as with one who informs me of nothing but empty words, which signify no more than inarticulate sounds, if not understood, *He is to me a Barbarian, and I am not edified.* 1 Cor. 14. 11.

N° IV.

Animadversions on Dr. Edmund Calamy's allegation of Justin Martyr's testimony concerning the Trinity, in his Sermons, p. 306.

HAVING told the people, p. 293. that they, who are not of themselves capable of tracing the sentiments of those, that lived in the first ages, may yet pass a tolerable judgment in this matter, when they hear what is alledged on both sides, he proceeds to give testimonies from the writings of the primitive Fathers. And as he has dealt very falsely in several instances, but in none with more open and direct *prevarication*, than in what he offers from *Justin Martyr*, the first of the Christian writers, we have of any considerable bulk; so I shall single out this instance as a *specimen* of the Doctor's false and dishonest practices, to the abuse of his hearers and readers in the very great concerns of religion.

Of *Justin Martyr* he says, p. 306. and puts it down in *Italic*, as the words of his author, He declares, that *Christians are no Atheists, for that they despised and contemned those, that the Gentiles falsely called and esteemed Gods, yet they religiously honoured and worshipped the Triune God, who was distinguished by three persons*; for this he refers us to his Second Apology, and cites part of the words in the Greek original, where there is not one word of *Triune* or *distinguished into three persons*; the words are these, *We worship and adore both him (i. e. the most true God the Father of justice before-mentioned) and the Son who came from him, and the prophetic Spirit.* What an abuse

abuse is this of his *English* reader? He knew the force of the expression the *Tri-une God* by what he says p. 315. of *Hippolitus's* book concerning the *Tri-une God*, (tho' that also is a mere sham and fiction) and he had a turn to serve by it, viz. to provide an answer to Mr. *Whiston*; for he immediately subjoins, "By this passage of his we are furnished with a sufficient answer to the bold challenge of Mr. *Whiston*, as to the shewing one single catholic testimony before the days of *Athanasius*, which affirmed the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost* to be the *one God* of the Christian religion, for I think this does it effectually." And then adds the plain sense of *Justin* in that passage is this, and so goes on to explain and comment upon it.

It is horrid imposition on the poor people to put such deceitful tricks upon them, to tell them false things as *Justin's*, which *Justin* has not said. And if he pretend it is what he takes to be *Justin's* sense, (tho' by his manner of quoting it this can't be) this is the vilest deceit of all, in an appeal to the people's judgment upon hearing the allegations from *Justin*, to put his own notions and sense in the place of *Justin's words**, and then leave them to judge, whether *Justin* did not speak according to his sense, as if an *Arian* on the other side should, among people who could not read the Testament, tell them, he would set the Scripture testimonies before them, that they may judge in the case, and then should tell them (quoting *Mat. 28. 19.*) that Jesus Christ having all power given him, bid his disciples *Go and teach all nations, baptizing them*
in

* The like he has done in another passage of *Justin* in the very next page, p. 307. where he quotes as *Justin's words*, *The Son is a different person from the Father*, but not of a different nature; whereas *Justin's* real Words are *ἕτερος ἀριθμῶ, ὁ γὰρ αὐτῆς*, another in number, not in will.

in the name of one supreme God the Father, and one subordinate God or Lord the Son, and one ministering Holy Spirit, and then add *this passage is an effectual answer* to the adversaries objection; What names would be given to such base arts! What detestation arise in the detection of such abuse of the poor unlearned readers! Nay, what an introduction to *scepticism*, and contempt of all ecclesiastical *historical* proof is here! Shall we say the primitive apologists, in what they offered publicly to their emperor, cannot be supposed to tell a false deceitful thing, which so easily might be contradicted, as our author argues p. 494. with respect to the *African* bishops putting in the words of the three witnesses, *Father, Son, and Spirit*, when we behold here in an age of learning; of controversy, and critical researches, a Minister, a Doctor preaches to a great audience, (*Pref.* p. 13.) many of them his fellow-ministers, and then presents these Sermons to the King with this testimony of *Justin Martyr*, which is notoriously false? What credit is due to antient testimonies of mens judgment given by others, unless they were more honest and just than this Author?

It is likely *Albanasius's* testimony of *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, and others, was much of the same sort, viz. his own imaginations for real words or facts. Nay I question not but *S. Cyprian's* testimony about 1 *John* 5. 7. came in this way, viz. citing the words *These three are one*, instead of *Water, blood, and spirit*, he probably gave his own sense instead of *St. John's words*, and said *Of the Father, Son and Spirit it is written, These three are one*, because in his opinion this was mystically intended by the words *Water, blood, and spirit*. This is no more than *Dr. Calamy* has done here, tho' with more honesty, for *Cyprian* was not appealing

pealing to the people in a point *controverted* for a testimony they could not come at but by his representation.

N^o. V.*Of the Law to Adam.*

I Suppose an original fundamental law of nature to all rational creatures, after which some peculiar positive laws were superadded on special reasons, but subordinate to the other main law: For *Adam's* state in paradise is described only as *terrestrial* for this life, depending on *one* precept or condition, with only the earthly sanction of *temporal* life or death, superadded to the original divine law of morality in common to all; there is no mention made of spiritual and heavenly or soul-concerns, he was only to *turn to dust*. The *Jews* religion in the letter was like to that of *Adam*, temporal and supplemental to themselves; what the soul-concerns of both were with respect to a future world, is to us a secret, not said, but left to our reason to consider. As to *Adam's* covenant I don't find his happiness in paradise was forfeitable on any less fault than his presumptuous eating the forbidden fruit. Spotless rectitude in all things was not the condition of keeping it; his first doubts and irregular desires of eating might be a breach on his innocency; yet had he stopt and recovered, and not eaten, I see no reason to think he would have lost his paradise: true indeed he had injured his spiritual state, for all sin hurts that, unless repentance heal it, for it is founded on the nature of man and of God, that prevailing goodness will make happy, and *vice versa*. Temporal

poral blessings may be annex to positive mutable laws, but nothing less than sincere universal goodness, (which may proportionably do it, tho' short of full perfection) can make *Adam*, or any man happy in his spiritual final state, while yet the condition of his external privilege seems only his *not eating*, that is all which is injoin'd in the *precept*, as temporal death is all which is express in the *sanction* of that particular covenant or law.

Now *Jesus Christ* came to redeem all from death, not from dying but from continuing in death, by bringing in a resurrection, so that all should again be made alive by Christ, *1 Cor. 15. 22.* But if the wicked must rise to certain future misery, (of which in former times they had no warning by any threatnings) they had better have remained for ever dead, than to rise to their hurt only; so that they would be worsted by this resurrection of Christ, when yet he came not to condemn but to save the world. I suppose therefore that after *Adam's* fall, man (tho' under an earthly curse thro' a particular personal covenant) was still upon another foot with relation to the more important concerns of spiritual and eternal life; that he had a law of holiness given him by nature, or other notices (like what we now have) in order to his future happiness or misery, so that here they had another trial, and were not without hope, tho' still, after some reprieve for a time, die they must here. Some hints of this appear from what we read of *Enoch*, the Patriarchs, and the Jews after them, *Heb. 11.* but nothing of the resurrection of the body, till near the coming of Christ; then it is plainly told, and the wicked of old times must then suffer justly for rebelliously and impenitently breaking this moral law, which subjects them to their Maker's anger, and not for *Adam's* sin, for which

which they only die now, their spiritual and future estate standing on other grounds, not mentioned in *Adam's* paradisiacal state, which was for this earth only, as far as to us appears, against which Christ relieves all men, if they fall not in a worse manner under the moral law and covenant.

In short *Adam* and also the *Jewish* church seem to me to have been each under a particular circumstantial proper covenant of *peculiarity*, relating mainly to earthly encouragements and conditions, which could not be satisfied with any thing less than sinless obedience, *continuing in all* Gal. 3. 10: *things*, besides that more important common covenant, which extends to *all* men and at *all* times, relating to their chief and final happiness, which never excluded, as I can find, any good man from acceptance for any defects consistent with integrity and true repentance. I never find that absolutely perfect unfinning obedience was the only condition of happiness to poor weak creatures, without room for mercy from a good God, under this original divine law, by which the whole reasonable creation are always to be governed, whatever singular and particular law or covenant besides may be added to some only; nor that every moral defect was a capital and damning sin by any law of God, or indeed among men.

I own that *Adam's* breach of the positive precept was also a breach of that original moral law, which requires obedience to God in all things, and that *Adam's* hurt by transgressing that law, in eating the forbidden fruit, had not only an ill influence on his *natural* earthly state by death, but some also on his *morals* by vitiating and disordering his bodily *crasis* or humours, so as to be at once both the seminary of many diseases, and of evil lusts and passions, so that

soul and body were both harmed in consequence of that sin, but not that spiritual death or misery and torments in a future state were incurred by it to him or his posterity, as a punishment immediately due, before it be incurred by mens own rebellion against the original common law founded on the nature of God and his rational creatures, and the relation between them, which was prior to and distinct from the peculiar covenant or law to *Adam*.

Christ's redemption was from the penalty of all these laws, viz. from the original moral law, and from the lasting effects of the peculiar positive law to *Adam* and of the law of *Moses* and from all sins; *By him all that believe are justified from all things, from which they could not be justified by the law of Moses, Acts 13. 9. Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, Gal. 3. 13. Heb. 9. 15. As in Adam all die, so in Christ all are made alive, 1 Cor. 15. 22. Rom. 5. 15. The blood of Christ cleanseth from all sins, and he is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, 1 John 1. 7. and 2. 1, 2. Luke 24. 47. The sentence indeed of that positive law is executed in the full letter, man shall die, a natural bodily death, according to the threatening denounced against the breach of that command, but tho' men die, yet that death is removed by a resurrection to life. As to spiritual death or future misery, which is due only for the presumptuous breach of the moral law by the sinners own wilful act and not by *Adam's* sin, as all have sinned, so all are under a sentence of condemnation, from which they are delivered by *Christ Jesus*, thro' whose obedience and interposal it is first suspended to all, and then remitted to them who are penitent.*

Of a MEDIATOR.

One design of the Mediator's being appointed seems to be that he might serve as a *visible* image of the *invisible* Father and God. God is not an object of imagination, which only takes in matters of sense; infinite power, wisdom, &c. are abstracted notions, which men's minds without an image can hardly take hold of, or dwell upon; we require to know the subject of these but cannot fix an idea of his spiritual being or substance. Hence it is hard to fix our meditations without a determinate object, or on that of which we can frame no imagination: But now Christ is an object of sense, on which the imagination fixes, and in whom the divine wisdom, purity, and goodness were manifested as clothed with words and sensible actions, which we may dwell upon, and by that be assisted in our conceptions of God, who is hereby represented to us worthily and truly, and not by any material figure, which can be no image of God, whatever men call it, nor any help to right thoughts of him. We are at a loss without some sensible manifestation of God, and this we have in Christ, and in the most fitting manner, *John 14. 9. He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father*, so that being in conjunction with a sensible object, our minds are more fixedly determined to something certain, more than in general abstract notions without any certain subject to terminate on.

N^o. VI.

Concerning Episcopacy, I take it to be thus.

1. **T**HAT *Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons* were all three of apostolical institution by the early practice of the church.

2. But not all in every church. At *Corinth* and *Philippi* there were no *Bishops*; nor were there *Deacons* in such small churches as needed none.

3. That for the most part every Church had a *Bishop* or a Pastor to guide and inspect them, called also a *Presbyter*, tho' of a superior sort, and usually had teaching *Presbyters* under him.

4. That to this *Bishop* properly the church or flock related, and he ordinarily did alone baptize, administer the Lord's Supper, and excommunicate within his own church, and assisted at ordination in other churches.

5. That all the Christians in that place or city did make up his own flock, and had no other *Bishop*, and tho' they might when numerous (so as to make assisting *Presbyters* become necessary) meet in several places, yet it was indistinctly as they saw fit, not one part as belonging to one *Presbyter*, and another to another *Presbyter*, as *divers* stated societies, but as branches of *one* society indifferently and interchangeably at pleasure; and so likewise the *Presbyters* officiated here or there as the *Bishop* directed, whose consent was in all cases to be taken.

6. That they all communicated together indifferently, the *Bishop* only administering; or if any other, it was by his special direction: thus we read in the New Testament of but one church in a city. By this union in one society or church,
love

love and unity, and Christian intercourse was highly promoted, more than in appropriate distinct communities. To set up a distinct society and *Bishop* against *Bishop* was Schism.

7. When either the flock grew too numerous for such communion and inspection of the *Bishop*, or were too far distant and scattered to partake of it duly, then another or other *Bishops* were to be appointed, and so on.

Against this account both sides err.

1. It was the first wrong step in the *Bishops*, that when the church grew excessive numerous, and members at a remote distance came in, they did not appoint several *Bishops* to several flocks, but kept all to themselves for their own dominion, gain or grandeur, till at length they extended their Episcopacy many scores of miles, and over many hundred assemblies; so that the benefit of their inspection is lost, and their trust is managed by courts and officers as a worldly kingdom, and the members can have no acquaintance or social communion, being divided with each other, into stated distinct societies, locally separate in all communion, so that indeed they are several churches or congregate societies, however called one Episcopal flock, (just as we have one national church, when in reality it means only many churches under one national government and law) and being thus divided into stated districts, I take them thereby to be so many *Bishopricks*, or pastoral charges; *Bishop* besides *Bishop* in the same town, of many parishes or dioceses; for *παροικία* is the word for diocess, the same as *διοικία*, or such as dwell together.

2. I take the *Dissenters* also to err from the primitive practice, in that they make as many churches

churches as they can or list in the same city or town, where *one* or *few* only should be. Communion should be as large as may be, consistent with edification, and where all, as in one corporate town usually, may have communion, as one flock under one Bishop or College of Presbyters, they should not be separated into several flocks, one calling themselves of *one* church, and others counting themselves of *another*, and not of one and the same as it ought to be, only as sister-churches, among whom are apt to be jealousies; thus one was of *Paul*, and another of *Cephas*, *i. e.* of two communities in the same place, tho' not opposite to each other, any otherwise than as distinction and separation, by divided appropriate claims, is commonly attended with opposition and emulation; for which reason it should be avoided by keeping up rather one large communion, as large as Christians intercourse, and the Bishop's inspection, his presence with, and officiating among them, will admit.

Thus in a great *Metropolis*, tho' many communities or churches are requisite, yet there should be as few as may be under distinct Pastors; for it is not necessary that each should have no more than what can assemble in one, two or three places perhaps, and they would love and edify one another much better. It is an error to think every score or two, who can get a teacher, may set up as an independent church, and that teacher as a *Bishop*; for when nothing justly hinders but that they may be in the common society, it is against Christian love and unity to set up for another church apart by themselves. It is scandalous to see so many little straggling flocks in *London*, of which five or six perhaps would scarce fill one large meeting-place, each of them pretending alone to be a church, and to have a *Bishop*; whereas

it might be much more Christian and to edification for ten or more of them to be united under one *Episcopacy*, or Pastor, assisted by his Presbyters, who might do as much by exhortation and converse, as so many separate Bishops, so that here would be all the use of their preachers to be hoped for in the other case, and the great benefit of mutual love, and much larger and more endearing communion besides.

I imagine if, in *Holland* for instance, they had in each city one *Bishop* or governing Pastor, this would come near to the primitive method, for the whole city of Protestants seem but as one community, having no appropriate ministers, but all in common preaching round; one church cannot say *this is our minister*, and *that is not ours but yours*, but all is ours, whether *Paul*, *Apollas*, or *Cephas*. Whether it were not more primitive to have such a community of *Presbyters* under one *Bishop*, in such cities and towns as have four, five, or six parishes, than to have so many separate divided churches, which are to have no communion with each other's altar, but each according to the canons to keep to his own parish, I leave to be judged and considered.

In short, too extensive Bishopricks over so many miles and multitudes serve not for Christian communion at all, and deprive the people of the pastoral offices and tender love of their Bishop; and on the other hand too many small needless and separate churches with distinct Bishops hinder the extensive love, sweet communion, and mutual edification of Christians. If every parish minister, and every dissenting preacher of a meeting be so many *Bishops*, there seem *too many* for the union and peace of Christians to prosper under; if only the modern Diocessans be *Bishops*, there seem *too few* for the well
guiding

guiding the too large flock : however so many separate parish churches agree not well with the unity of being one flock under one Bishop, here is no more communion among them, than with another diocess, and what is union when it is not for communion?

The truth of it is this, the *Dissenters* have too many *Bishops* and few or no *Presbyters*, the *Church* has too many *Presbyters* and too few *Bishops* ; both are against Christian unity, whilst they have no more common concern in the mother church, than now they have, but in the same diocess there is *altar against altar* instead of, (according to *Ignatius*,) *ἐν συνάκσει ἑπὶ τῷ ἑνὶ ἐπίσκοπῳ*, one altar under the one Bishop. The *Dissenters* have *Bishop against Bishop* in the same place, where there is no need of it ; and indeed are episcopally ordained, tho perhaps in schism among themselves ; for tho they should be never so well justified, by the terms imposed, in dividing from the establish'd communion, yet why should they be so crumbled and divided among themselves ? Nor does the *Scotch Moderator* answer to a Bishop, for it is over fellow Bishops and not over the flock that he presides, nor should *Presbyters* be *Bishops* by turns for a year or so, the relation of a pastor is not so to be thrown off ; besides, this would make all level, and abate the respect ever due to a good Bishop to his death. So that I am much of Dr. *Hammond's* mind, that at first only *Bishops* were appointed, and *Presbyters* became afterwards necessary, when the church grew numerous, or the Bishops on some accounts needed assistance in teaching, tho the names of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* were given promiscuously to the same person, *Phil. 1. 1.* and they had the same qualifications and power, save in the government.

N^o VII.*Of the Magistrate's authority in the Church.*

THE *Jewish* church was a *national* church; the church and nation were the same in their constitution; they had *One House* of God for the whole nation, to which all sacrifices were brought, *One only High-priest* to minister, *One Communion* at the three festivals, and therefore must be under *national* authority, as the laws required. God was their king, the temple was his palace; the which and the provisions for it were to be kept up by the deputy princes appointed by him; but no such *Christian* national church is required, or is any where found. Our churches are but as their synagogues, which the kings of *Judab* did not claim power over, nor dispose of, nor determine opinions or matters of faith (as the case of the *Sadduces* plainly shows) but left all to themselves. It was only in the *national universal* badges of religion they interposed, in the *state service* of God and its *external* forms and ornaments, (not *internal* matters as faith and opinion) and this after the *express letter* of the law, where the minutest things were particularly determined, so as to leave scarce any room for their own construction or prudence.

But there seems no parity of reason in transferring this authority of the *Jewish* kings to *Christian* magistrates, who have no national church-laws given by God to be executed by them; at least we should not go beyond the parallel, in determining opinions and synagogue affairs.

The Christian religion is so far from requiring any thing as the proper work of the [Christian] magistrate,

magistrate, that it never so much as supposes there would be such, or that they had any thing new to do, but only to rule in civil matters justly, as otherwise bound. The Christian faith is no where committed, as I find, to the magistrate's special care, but only judgment and justice between man and man; and natural religion, as the foundation of society, but not any particular forms or creeds. A magistrate is no more bound to make his subjects, than a general his soldiers of his religion in all particulars. I find no hint of outward prosperity or power designed for Christians; all is humility and self-denial, calculated for self-denying pilgrims, independent in their religious acts on the world.

Every secular national church is easily corrupted by drawing in the most carnal men by its worldly baits, and is most hardly reformed against the will of potentates, who have by politics made religion a state engine. In such a church religion is usually made an underling and a tool for the state, and the ministers for the most part must trim and wind and flatter to keep in at courts, which while they grant the clergy their honours and benefices, will be prescribing to them what to believe and preach, whom to receive or refuse the sacrament to, &c. so that the laws of Christ are oft minded only as far as the law of the state will admit. Nay, I think it must be with great difficulty, that any constituted or established church can avoid being a persecuting one; for there is no establishment but by laws, no laws without sanctions, sanctions imply penalties threatened, these are nothing without execution, and this for religion is persecution.

Isai. 49.
23.

Kings may be *nursing fathers* and queens *nursing mothers* to Christians by protecting all Christians, and yet not make religion part of their state-

state-policy. The more worldly preferments are in the church, the more is the glory of truth and religion obscured, when they stand on such motives rather than on their native beauty and rational evidence without worldly bribes. Indeed it is said, that *Kings shall minister to the church*, Isa. 60. 10. but not that they should debase and subject it to carnal secular bondage, as subservient to worldly intrigues and designs, which is below the dignity of the Christian religion, and makes the church *minister to them*.

Hence it is, that nations in the lump are all of one belief, and find the constituted church the best, because worldly motives are the convincing arguments, and no truth is to be come at but the convenient national doctrine by most; so much is inquiry after truth obstructed by worldly allurements, and yet poor wretches call it the church's prosperity, when instead of the world's coming over to the church, the church is but come over and converted to the world.

Hence may come the ambitious extent of dioceses, when worldly revenue attended it; hence contention about gaining a *Bishoprick*, when it became a worldly prize; when once Christ's kingdom became of this world, then did his servants fight heartily for it. It was no longer a purely good thing to desire the office of a *Bishop*, as when peril and labour attended it, but became a carnal bait, of which so many say, *Who will shew us any good?*

N^o. VIII.

Of Church discipline.

Luke 22. 25, 26. The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, but ye shall not do so.

MANY of the clergy think to excuse their rigour in exercising a temporal (called *ecclesiastical*) coercive authority in matters of religion; because their spiritual discipline, they complain, is taken away, and they wish it were but restored; and then say they, we would part with that temporal secular power. A vain excuse! for if they be honest, what hinders them from exercising their discipline? They with the consent of their particular churches and flocks may openly reprove and reject from their friendly society such as upon plain evidence after solemn admonition remain impenitent scandalous sinners. Without the people they should not excommunicate, and with them concurring they can effect it, except as to legal consequences, which belong not to them as a Christian church, and were better taken away; the people would avoid and shun such, as are so cast out by their own consent.

If it be said, that they may be in danger by so doing of incurring some penalties from the laws of the state: I answer, What then, if it be their duty? so there was danger to the Apostles in *Acts 5. 29.* preaching Christ, yet *they obeyed God rather than man.* Good men used to consider what they might do with a safe conscience; these men consider what they may do with safety to their preferences, how to avoid not the *wrath to come*, but the *wrath present* from men. Cannot they

do their duty, when a Penalty attends it? However why do they exercise lordship or *temporal* power instead of *spiritual* discipline? But they have laws for it; so had *Paul* when he went to *Damascus*; let these be left to the magistrate, if *Acts 9.* he have any authority in church matters. Because they can't do *right*, will they therefore do wrong, and then excuse it by saying, if others would let them have their own, they would not be unjust to others? But it seems they will have the power some way or other; and if God would give them, (as he did the Apostles) power to inflict diseases, and destroy the disobedient, then they would not seek to the magistrate. And if they can't exercise their spiritual discipline safely, they will want it, as appears in admitting to *occasional* communion, which they think a scandal, and yet will themselves do that *to keep an office*, which they condemn in others who do it *to gain one*, and so are both alike faulty on their own principles.



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A TRUE
NARRATIVE
OF THE

Proceedings of the Dissenting Ministers of *Dublin* against Mr. THOMAS EMLYN;

And of his Prosecution (at some of the Dissenters Instigation) in the Secular Court, and his Sufferings thereupon, for his *Humble Inquiry into the Scripture-Account of the Lord Jesus Christ*: Annis 1702, 3, 4, 5.

To which is added,

An APPENDIX, containing the Author's own and the *Dublin* Ministers account of the Difference between him and them, with some remarks thereon.

Qui non vult pati, non potest ejus esse qui pro nobis passus est. *Tertull.*

Μακάριοι οἱ προσδοκῶντες ὑποβύτες — ἵνα γὰρ
ἔλαβῃται μὴ τὸς αὐτὰς μετασῆσιν, &c. Happy are
those Presbyters who have finished their Course — for
they are in no fear of being cast out from their appointed
station. *Clem. Rom. Epist. c. 44.*

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A TRUE
NARRATIVE, &c.

SECT. I.

The occasion of publishing this Narrative.

IF the great end of publishing this *Narrative*, had been to disburden my mind of any uneasy resentments of my ill usage, or to load the authors of it with reproach, I should not have delay'd it for so many years ; passion is more in haste, than to bear fifteen or sixteen years voluntary restraint. I thank God I have no revengeful disposition towards the keenest of my enemies ; and am so far from any uneasiness at the remembrance of my sufferings, that no scene of my life yields me more solid satisfaction : The *peerless unequal'd* majesty of the *One God and Father* of all, appears to me both so evident and so important a doctrine in the Christian religion, and so directly impugned in later ages, that if ever I would be tempted to glory in any suffering, it should be in so noble a cause, which is the very basis of Christianity.

A Narrative of the Proceedings

But since, what in me was run down with heat and fury, as *error, heresy* and *blasphemy*, has (notwithstanding worldly discouragements) appeared to have the evidence of *truth* to many serious judicious inquirers, both in the established Church, and among the Dissenters, teachers and people; I think I may venture more freely to lay my case before the world, in my own just vindication; and to appeal to the *wise* and *charitable*, whether they were *such*, whose treatment of me will be related in this Narrative; and which was very different from the more christian and tender usage which some others, in like case and circumstances, have found among their more candid and compassionate brethren here. Tho I am sensible there are many here also, who from an ungoverned zeal are forward to hereticate, anathematize and excommunicate their christian brethren, and to depose and cast off their pastors, merely for not assenting to their unscriptural opinions, and not stretching their faith beyond the ancient creed and primitive rule; to whom this Narrative may possibly be useful, as a caution not to be violent and precipitate in doing what they may afterwards think of with repentance themselves, or hear of with just reproach from others.

Indeed the intemperate zeal of these men is the chief occasion of my publishing this *Narrative* now, which had been for the substance of it composed many years since, when the facts were new, and which might otherwise have lain by me in silence. For though I could easily forbear troubling the world with any public complaints of my own injurious treatment, how grievous soever, while it reached no farther than myself; yet when I find the like uncharitable, imposing, and persecuting spirit, so ready to flame out

out among some (tho I hope not the most considerable) of the dissenting teachers here, against those who are of the same (or like) persuasion with me; I think I may be justified, in acquainting the world with some of the fruits and tendencies of this unchristian spirit: a spirit that acts under the like pretence of zeal for Christ, with theirs, who with fire from heaven sought to consume the unbelieving *Samaritans*; but that bitter and well-meant zeal was reproached for its ignorance, and rebuked with indignation, by the holy *Jesus*, whose honour they pretended to seek, but indeed betray'd. Luke 9. 55, 56.

Having been brought up in the *Protestant* religion, I did sincerely embrace the principles of that profession; and accordingly thought (what all true Protestants profess) that I ought not to take my religion upon the credit of the common vogue, the authority of doctors and synods, or the laws of the state; but that I ought to search the holy Scriptures, as the safest and unerring guide of faith, worship and practice. I had often heard and read, that the reverend prelates and doctors of the Church of *England* have gloried in allowing to Christians a judgment of discretion in matters of religion; and I knew the reformation from popery had been founded on that principle*.

B 3

* The church of *Rome* will not suffer her people to dispute their religion, or to read heretical books, nay not so much as to look into the bible itself; but we allow all this to our people, as that which God not only allows but requires, and which all considering men will allow themselves, whoever forbids it. Dr. *Sherlock's Preservative against Popery*. p. 3.

In truth there is nothing more absurd, than to say the glorious things we do daily of the Scriptures, and at the same time make the study of them to men of sincere and honest minds so extremely *hazardous* and *inconvenient*. Bp. *Hare's Difficulties*, &c. p. 22.

A Narrative of the Proceedings

I once thought them very sincere in this matter that, when they required men to examine the doctrines of their teachers by the word of God, they truly intended Christians should do as they taught them, without incurring their terrible wrath thereby.

Mark 8.
38.

Dr. Scot's
Discour.
vol. 1. p. 6.

I had further been instructed, that in all the important articles of the christian faith, a good Christian is bound to an open profession; yea, and by all sober methods, to propagate truth and knowledge; that he must not only *believe with his heart*, but also *confess with his mouth*; and that to be ashamed of Christ and his words, is at the peril of our eternal salvation. 'Not to profess visibly, what we believe to be true religion, is an open disowning of God; for he that believes that this is the will of God, and is ashamed or afraid openly to avow it, declares either, that he is ashamed of God, or that he fears man more than God *.'

I might well think it was really intended by Protestants, that a man should be encouraged in an honest search after truth, and a sober profession of what he sincerely judged to be so; and not suffer the loss of his liberty and livelihood for doing what he is required by God, and even directed to do by themselves. It had looked like an injurious reproach in me to have thought any so hypocritical, as to cry up the people's liberty to search the scriptures, and to see, with the noble (and so oft applauded) *Bereans*, whether what their teachers say be conformable there-

to;

* The truths a man thinks he has discovered, either are or will be thought by him of too much importance to the honour of God and good of religion to be concealed, and he will look on them as the blessing of God on his studies, and he will think it a capital crime to extinguish the light and suppress the knowledge God has imparted to him. *Bishop Hare's Difficulties and Discouragements*, p. 10.

against Mr. Thomas Emlyn.

to; and at the same time to carry an intention to ruin them, if they dare tell the world, especially if they bring strong proofs, that they find the Scriptures say otherwise.

I had oft heard the *Romish* church triumph'd over, (with just reproach, if others did not imitate her) for treating her members in so servile a manner, keeping them by a spiritual tyranny, in the most ignominious bondage of an implicit blind faith in their teachers: I thought surely Protestants must love the light, and fear no rational inquiry into their doctrines; but upon the principles by which my sufferings are to be justified, I am at a loss to know what difference there is in this point, which is one of the worst articles of *Papery*. The church of *Rome*, I think, deals more above-board in the case, she intends to ruin such as contradict her doctrine; but then she locks up the Scriptures from them, and plainly warns the people not to search, or trouble themselves about such matters, but to be content to believe as the church believes, at all adventures. This is plain dealing, though it be very unreasonable; and is much fairer, than if she set up her doctors, by writing and preaching, to urge men, on pain of eternal condemnation, to search the Scriptures, and not absolutely to swallow the dictates of the church against the word of God, and then abetted the secular arm in ruining them for the heresy of preferring the evidence of Scripture to her erroneous judgment.

The vassals of *Rome* are like their idols, they have eyes but cannot see, for the key of knowledge is taken from them; but *Protestants* (in the case I am speaking of) have eyes which can and do, but must not see, at least have mouths, but must not speak: and this is the hardest bondage of all; for if a man may not profess the most

important truths, which he finds clear and evident in the holy Scriptures, to what end should he read and search them? Is it only to torture his mind with uneasy reflections on his unrighteous imprisonment of the truth? 'Tis much better to be ignorant with an implicit faith, than by much inquiry, to gain the knowledge of truths we dare not countenance nor own, on a just occasion.

I could not but observe, that persecution for religion, and merely speculative opinions which hurt no man's civil right, had been oft and generally condemned by Protestants of this age; and that nothing laid a greater odium on a late neighbouring prince than this, that he persecuted his peaceable Protestant subjects, tho' 'twas under the charge of *heresy* and *blasphemy*. And indeed where charity is esteemed (as with St. Paul) the greatest of virtues, even *greater than faith* in all mysteries, there persecution, the most cruel uncharitable thing in the world, must needs be deemed the greatest of crimes; for which reason, that Apostle reproaches himself as the *chief of sinners*, because he had been, tho' with good meaning, a persecutor, the worst of criminals. I think 'tis less wicked in the sight of God, for the matter of the sin, to rob a man on the road, from necessity, than to spoil him of his goods and liberty, and to afflict him with tortures and reproaches, for not making a surrender of his conscience; the one aims to rob a man of his money, the other of the peace of his mind; and his eternal salvation: it looks like a sort of malice against God himself, and is certainly a worse heresy than any differing opinion about the sense of a text of Scripture.

Papists indeed may persecute more cruelly (as the Lord Chief Justice told me, in *Spain* or *Portugal*

ugal I might have been burnt) but then 'tis to be considered, that they act upon principle, tho a wicked one; which, we know, heightens cruelty, when 'tis baptiz'd with the name of piety, and numbred among the graces of religion: but *Protestants* act against their professed principles, doing violence to their brother and their religion at once; and they harden *Papists*, when at the same time they reproach and imitate them. And I should but argue just as our Lord *Jesus* himself did, (*Mat.* 23. 35.) if I should say, that persecuting *Protestants*, by oppressing men for mere conscience, do bring upon themselves all the righteous blood, at least the guilt of all the violence, the imprisonments, spoiling of goods, and temporal ruin which lies at the door of those *antichristian* and cruel oppressors.

'Tis a weak plea, to say, *error* may be punish'd, but not *truth*, when all sides take themselves for orthodox; so that on this foot persecution must go round the earth, *seeking whom to devour*. A man had as good say plainly, 'tis a sin for any others to persecute; but that 'tis his sole privilege to do it when he judges it fit.

This, if any thing, is the universal right of mankind; to exercise a liberty of judgment and conscience, in matters of faith and the worship of their great Creator; and to lay the reasons of their faith and worship soberly and honestly before others, that they may mutually impart and receive instruction in so important a concern: and so long as there is no violation of natural religion, of common justice, and other social virtues on which civil societies are founded, what harm can this liberty do? It was for the preservation of mens temporal and civil rights alone, that they came into communities under government; and not to submit their consciences

to any mortal rulers, in the matters of positive revelation and institution; where they are already under the determination of an higher authority, not to be superseded or limited by any combination or agreement of men, no, not of all the men on earth.

I know 'tis pretended, that the peace of societies is oft disturbed by different opinions and ways of worship, openly professed and practis'd; but, tho any thing may prove an occasion of private jars between man and man, I can't see that different opinions in *religion*, unarmed with secular terrors, should ever affect the public, more than differences in many *other points*; in which, tho of less importance than the matters of religion and salvation, we could not without the highest injury have our liberty restrained by force.

1 Kings
18. 18.

'Tis violence and restraint makes the struggle, and raises those enmities, which die away in a settled calm of secure liberty; and therefore *Elijah* (at that time a dissenting persecuted Prophet) told the persecuting King *Abab*, *I have not troubled Israel, but thou, and thy father's house have.*

Deut. 13.

Men may fancy some countenance given to their severities from the *Jewish* law; but 'tis a dishonour to the holy *Jesus*, to make the practices of an hard-hearted people (who were dispensed with in some things not most excellent in themselves) a pattern to his disciples; who are bound to exceed them so far, in his *new commandment* of love and goodness: and yet, 'tis a plain truth, that the *Jewish* law itself never warranted such severity as christian persecutors exercise. It did never teach them to destroy or afflict their brethren, who believed in the *one true God*, and reverenced his law as the sacred rule

rule of their faith and worship, only because they differ'd in their interpretation of some parts of it, or in the inferences they drew from thence. No, 'twas only severe toward such as set up other gods, besides him who was their king and state-governor, or acted in a known opposition to his laws, by a rebellion, which tended to subvert the very civil constitution of that *Theocracy*. Therefore, tho' the *Sadduces* erred greatly in their interpretations, *not knowing the Scriptures*; and thought there was no resurrection, nor future rewards, yet were they not persecuted, but admitted into government, and into the sacred offices of the priesthood; nor did our Lord blame the *Jews* for this toleration, or rather comprehension. 'Tis one thing to cast off the known Laws of God, by a direct or designed opposition, and another to *misunderstand*, or unwillingly mistake them; so that the beggarly elements of *Judaism* out-do, in charity and mercy, the *Christianity* of some in this degenerate age; tho' charity be the distinguishing badge of a *Christian*, and not of a *Jew*.

Might not any Protestant then, all these things considered, venture upon a serious examination of modern creeds by the light of revelation, the words of Christ's own mouth, and the writings of his inspired Apostles? Or might not I, who had been brought up in a diligent study of the Scriptures, and admitted to be a teacher of others, justly expect the liberty of declaring what I judged to be the doctrine of the Gospel, tho' rejected by others not more infallible than myself?

I am sure I was under too serious impressions and concern of soul to treat the argument with ludicrous derision, or indecent scurrility, or any real token of designed contempt of the holy Jesus.

fus. I wrote my *Humble Inquiry*, &c. as one grieved in spirit and afflicted, forsaken of my people and my friends, and abandoned to the reproaches, indignation, or contempt of all round about me; cast out as a despised broken vessel, in which is no pleasure: so that I had nothing to support me in this case, but that I was maintaining the cause of the God of gods, and the truth of Jesus his son. And tho I had given all the proof of my acting conscientiously, that a man could give, in quitting my beneficial station among the Dissenters quietly and easily; retiring from all the respects, and even from all further acquaintance of my friends, into a silent and neglected obscurity; and this, in the very vigour of my age (at thirty nine years) when, if ever I was capable of signifying any thing, I might most have expected it: yet was I numbered among the vilest transgressors and blasphemers. The pulpits sounded with *heresy* and *blasphemy*, to beget abhorrence; and I was persecuted and treated as if I had written with the profanest scorn in derision of Christianity: nor could I ever hear of any other precedent the Lord Chief Justice offered, but of one *Taylor*, who had been convicted of blasphemy, for calling our Saviour a *Bastard* or *Son of a Whore* *, and my case must be like his; and so under forms of law,

* The words were these: *Jesus Christ is a bastard and a whoremaster, religion is a cheat, and I fear neither God, the devil, nor man.*

Hale C. J. said, That such kind of wicked blasphemous words were not only an offence against God and religion, but a crime against the laws, state, and government, and therefore punishable in that court, (the Kings's-Bench:) for to say *religion is a cheat* is to dissolve all those obligations whereby civil societies are preserved; and that *Christianity* is parcel of the laws of *England*, and therefore to reproach the *Christian* religion is to speak in subversion of the law. See *1. Venetris Reports* p. 293.

I was made a gazing-stock, and a companion to Heb. 10. them in bonds, and suffered the spoiling of my goods; 33, 34- but with this allay, that it was in hopes of a more enduring substance.

I am well assured, the true Christian faith is no such timorous and tender thing, as to fear an exact examination, or that a Christian may not debate about it, at any less peril than a Turk disputes his *Alcoran*; and that it tends to the discredit of any cause or religion, when texts and arguments seriously alledged, must be answered by jays and fines; according to *Tertullian's* sarcasm, *ex officina carnicum solvunt argumenta*.

But no religion loses its credit by persecution, so much as the Christian; because it makes such high demands of meekness, patience, and charity from all its disciples; and represents its holy author as an utter enemy to all injurious usage of any man, on the score of his different faith: the whole burden of the New Testament is tenderness and meekness to those who oppose themselves, and much more to those who differ in matters of doubtful disputation, tho never so great. Therefore, if Christians persecute, infidels and aliens will either think their religion teaches to do so, and then they will hate it; or they'll think such Christians don't believe their religion, and so will suspect it; which is not likely to make 'em proselytes. Let me here use the excellent words of Dr. Goodman. " By per- Serm. p. 289.
" secution religion itself is made odious, and
" loses its principal glory of being rational; and
" men are tempted to suspect that to be desti-
" tute of good proof, which needs to be sup-
" ported by force; and all religions (like co-
" lours in the dark) are alike, when the use of
" reason is laid aside, and force supplies the place
" of it: where 'tis become the fashion to knock
" men

“men on the head, who will not be converted;
 “it will not seem worth the while to take pains
 “to convince ‘em. And, in short, the very
 “temper of religion itself will be supplanted;
 “and only a dull sottish compliance and hypo-
 “crisy succeed in its room.”

And yet how many who pretend to zeal for the christian religion, are willing and forward to do it all this injury?

I deny not but the *Arians* in their turn were very guilty of this crime, nor will I excuse in them, any more than in their adversaries, so base a practice, tho’ it was in retaliation of the cruelties they had felt. For the first authors of christian magistrates persecution, were them of the *Nicene* faith. The first severity (says the late Bishop of Sarum, in his excellent preface to *Lactant. &c.*) that Christians practised on one another, was the banishing *Arius* and a few of his Followers.

L. i. c. 9. We find in *Socrat.* history, that *Constantine*, who afterwards banished *Athanasius* for crimes, banished *Arius* for his faith; and made it immediate death for any to keep so much as one of his books; which I think was a severity beyond any of the *French* edicts, and which the *Arians* did afterwards revenge with unchristian cruelty.

But might it not be hoped, that the spirit of persecution was long ere this laid, and that *Protestants* were grown wiser, by long and sad experience? Of this the reader may judge by the following relation, now drawn out into form, at this cool distance of many years. And tho’ I have used the freedom of an historian in relating some things that may be ungrateful, even to my friends; yet not any but what I think are true, nor these with any aggravations, that I judge forced or unjust. I rejoice not in vexing, reproaching, or grieving any, who may not have used

used me well ; but 'tis my desire they should be ashamed of their uncharitable imposing principles, or else that others may guard against them, by knowing their hurtful, if still approved, practices.

S E C T. II.

How the author came to alter his judgment in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity. What passed thereon ; and the occasion of writing his Humble Inquiry, &c.

I Had been a preacher in *Dublin* (together with Mr. *J. Boyse*) for eleven years, to a congregation of *Protestant Dissenters* ; who were generally a sober and peaceable people, not unworthy of my love, nor had been wanting in any testimonies of affection and respect that I could reasonably desire or expect from them.

I own I had been unsettled in my notions from the time I read Dr. *Sherlock's* book of the Trinity, which sufficiently discovered how far many were gone back toward polytheism ; I long tried what I could do with some *Sabellian* turns, making out a Trinity of somewhats in one single mind. I found that by the tritheistical scheme of Dr. *Sherlock* and Mr. *Howe*, I best preserved a Trinity, but I lost the Unity : by the *Sabellian* scheme of modes and subsistences, and properties, &c. I best kept up the divine Unity ; but then I had lost a Trinity, such as the Scripture discovers, so that I could never keep both in view at once. But after much serious thought, and study of the holy Scriptures, with many concerned addresses to the Father of lights, I found great reason, first to doubt, and after by degrees, to alter my judgment, in relation to formerly received opinions

nions of the Trinity, and *the supreme Deity* of our Lord Jesus Christ. For tho the word of God was my rule, I could not tell how to understand that rule but by the use of my reason; knowing well, that he who tells me, I must lay aside my reason when I believe the gospel, does plainly declare, that to believe is to act without reason, and that no rational man can be a Christian. I desired only to know *what* I must believe, and *why*; as to the latter, I was satisfied, that divine revelation is a sufficient ground of belief; but then I must conceive what 'tis that it reveals, and that I am explicitly to believe and profess: For a faith of sounds without meaning, I understand not; and no more can believe airy sounds, than I can see them with my eyes. I could not imagine it should be necessary to say my prayers *with understanding*, and my creed without it; and could every whit as much edify by worship, as by belief uttered in an unknown tongue. I did not make my reason the rule of my faith, but employed it to judge what was the meaning of that written rule or word of God; and thus was led to form notions different from what others had taught me, without regard either to *Arius* or *Socinus*, not agreeing wholly with either.

Accordingly I was ever careful not to speak against my own judgment, or what should appear so to a judicious hearer, that I might not act against christian sincerity; and yet I never confronted the opinions of others, by an express or unhandsome opposition; I doubted whether this was my duty, or was proper in the pulpit, where I could not have freedom to say all that was requisite in such a controversy; and whether I ought at once to cast myself out of my station of service, without a more particular and direct occasion given me to profess my mind; which I did

apprehend

+ Boyse

apprehend might offer, and which I was determined to accept, when it did.

One of the congregation, of leading influence, gave the occasion: He had been brought up to the study of divinity, but afterwards chose another useful profession; and had done me formerly so many kind offices, that I cannot impute what he now did to any ill-will to me, other than what a mistaken zeal is apt to inspire. By observing that I avoided the common opinion, and those arguments which are supposed to support it, he strongly suspected my judgment to be against the supreme Deity of the Lord Jesus Christ: Hereupon having first put Mr. Boyse upon the inquiry, himself came with Mr. Boyse to my House, June 1702. acquainting me with these jealousies, and desiring seriously to know my real sentiments in the matter; adding, after some discourse, that he did not know that *any one* in the congregation, but himself, had any such apprehensions.

Dr. Duncan Cummins, a noted physician in Dublin.

I now thought myself bound, as a Christian, to declare my faith openly in so great a point, and freely own'd myself convinc'd, that *the God and Father of Jesus Christ* is alone the supreme Being, and superior in excellency and authority to his son (or to that effect) who derives all from him. I told them I had no aim to make any strife among them, and offered to leave the congregation peaceably, that they might chuse another, if they pleased, in my place. But this it seems would not be permitted me. Mr. Boyse * Mr. not willing to take such a weighty matter on himself, brought it on the stage before the meeting of the Dublin ministers *, to have his brethren's advice; though I told him, he knew well the narrowness of their principles †. At their desire

Mr. Weld, Mr. Travers, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Ireland, Mr. Tate.

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† Some of them having on a former occasion charg'd Mr. Boyse with heresy, as being a Pelagian.

I gave them a meeting, and candidly open'd my mind to them; we had, not without mutual sorrow, about two hours discourse (as I remember) in which I profess'd myself ready to give my assent to the Scriptures, though not to their explanations; judging I might justly use my reason where they so much used theirs, or other men. And I would have done any thing that with a good conscience I could, rather than have broken off from them, with whom I had lived so many years in friendly acquaintance; and whom I loved and esteemed, and still do so, as men of conscientious integrity according to their judgments; none of whose personal characters would I be thought to blemish, in any things not relating to the present subject; in which themselves will, I suppose, think there is no reproach, whatever others do.

Upon this *first* and *only* conference with me, these ministers *immediately the same day* agreed to cast me off, and that I should not preach more; and this without having consulted my own flock, who as yet knew nothing of the matter, nor had made any complaint in order to such a divorce as they had decreed: nor indeed had I ever any hearing before them at all. Being acquainted with this their resolution, by Mr. B. I presently directed the deacons and chief managers of the church, to be called together the next day, that I might let them know (as I did when they met) somewhat of the case in general, viz. that difference in opinions had rendred me offensive to some there, and to the other ministers, so that it seemed best I should leave them: therefore I thankfully owned the kindness and respects they had shown me for so many years, and desired their dismissal. But something more particular as to the points in difference being earnestly insisted on,

I told them it was in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity, about which there were many disputes on foot among the learned of the age, &c.

Having told them this, they were under great surprize and sorrow; and, to do justice to him who had occasioned this, himself then wished he had left it (as he said) *in statu quo*. They proposed my lying by some time, without preaching; but I determined not to yield to that, without declaring what it was, for which I was hindered from preaching, lest it should be suspected for some immorality, which I would not lie under the charge of, though perhaps not so odious to some, as that of *heresy**. And for this reason indeed it was, that I had called them together, to tell them my case. It was therefore next proposed to me to go away presently into England for a while; that there might be time for further consideration, and the aforesaid difficulty be avoided: But this was first to be approved by the ministers, who met the next day and agreed to it, sending † two of their number to acquaint me with it, but without to charge me, as the word was, *not to preach any where*, when I went thither. † Mr. Travers and Mr. Weld.

To this imperious message, so full of affectation of authority, and expressive of rigid *presbyterian* tyranny, (which yet was attended by an independent minister † as one of the messengers) † Mr. I answered to this effect; that I did not design to preach on the *matters in debate*, where I went, if that would satisfy them: but that they assumed too much in forbidding me to preach, who had no authority from them, nor own'd any in them over me; that I had as much authority to forbid them

C 2
* *Orthodoxy*, says Bp. Hare, will cover a multitude of sins, but a cloud of virtues cannot cover the want of the minutest particle of *orthodoxy*; — the greatest immorality, may a long course of them shall often escape unpunished, especially if a man be very *orthodox*. *Difficulties*, &c. p. 15—17.

20 *A Narrative of the Proceedings*

them to preach, as they to forbid me, and should pay no regard to them herein. Upon which they said, they would then write to the *London* ministers about it. I bid them use their discretion, and I should use mine.

And this I suppose is what the *Northern* ministers (in their *Address and Apology* to *Queen Anne*, in answer to the convocation) call, my being solemnly deposed from my office by a presbytery, (tho I never knew any who own'd themselves to be such in *Dublin*) and for this they applaud them; implicitly upbraiding the ecclesiastical courts, so much abhorred by them in their own case, that had not brought me to a trial: And then they make this grave and profound remark upon it, *This shews the usefulness of such presbyteries, however censured by the clergy.* Just as if others should say, upon the excommunication and imprisonment of their ministers and people for non-conformity, See here the usefulness of *Bishops courts*, however censured by the *Presbyterians*!

If the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* claim such a power as this, not only to reject from their own communion, but to depose from their office, such pastors of other churches as conscientiously differ from them in opinions; and to extend this to other kingdoms, forbidding them to preach there also: I think they have a mighty conceit of their own large dominion, and discover a very ridiculous ambition. I wonder who gave them this sovereign *deposing* power over their brethren, any more than the Pope his arrogated power of deposing other people's kings: Nay, who ever heard, in the primitive church, of such a strange creature as a presbytery made up of the presbyters of several and different churches? But to return to the history of facts.

When

When they had thus persuaded me, for greater secrecy and quiet, to withdraw, I went for *England* the very next day; tho' with great inconveniency, thus hastily leaving my house and family, with two small children, lately become motherless to my great grief, which was then very fresh, and heavy upon me, though it gave such a check to all earthly delights as made me more easy under all that followed. No sooner was I gone, but a loud clamour was raised against me and my opinions, and that in part from the pulpit, where I did not expect it, at least not so soon, that such advantage should be made of my desired absence.

And now I had leisure to look back; for when so few days space had made so great a change in my condition, that I was turned out to wander abroad desolate and in uncertainty, I saw I was entered upon a dark scene, and must arm for various, though I knew not what, trials. What then were the workings of my anxious thoughts! what the deep reflexions, and black presages! what the conflicts of spirit! what the cries and tears before the God of all wisdom and comfort, is best known to him who sees in secret. I could not forbear saying oft with wandering afflicted David, *If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me back to see his ark and his habitation; but if he say I have no delight in thee, here am I, let him do as seemeth good to him.* I had not been of so unsocial a nature, not to relish the society and love of my dear friends, nor was insensible of the pangs of a violent separation; nor yet so mortify'd to the world, as not to feel some difference between contempt and respect, fulness and straits: but still my convictions of truth were so clear, that these things never stagger'd my resolutions, of adhering to it, in the midst of all discouragements.

A Narrative of the Proceedings

Yet Mr. Bayse, in the preface to his answer to my *Humble Inquiry*, taxes me with insincerity in continuing so long in communion with those of a different persuasion. But as I think it was matter deserving great deliberation, so I did not see any thing sinful required of me; we worship'd one God thro' Jesus Christ the Mediator, and I had my part in leading the devotions of the society; We had no worship of *three modes*, expressed; and other mens different confused notions did not affect my worship, when not imposed on me; who still say, that if they worship'd but one infinite supreme mind, they worship'd the same object of supreme worship with me: And as for the secret worship of *three modes*, of which there is not one word in Scripture, I understand no more than themselves what they mean by those terms, or rather they mean nothing at all by them, that I can find: And I am persuaded, that not three of the whole church could agree in the same rational account (if put to it) of these matters; though they might say the same words, as taught, by rote; which yet is not the same faith or opinion, when without the same sentiments. And indeed how should they, when their ministers themselves have no stated notions, and own they can't explain them, but hide all under the covert of mystery? So that they go in the dark. And therefore if none may worship safely with others, that differ in their notions of God, and a Trinity, the whole Church may dissolve, and Mr. Bayse cannot, in sincerity, join with any number of his people; much less could he so long join with Mr. Howe, who held *three* infinite minds to be God; which I think is more by *two* than himself will profess to believe.

When I came to *London*, I found some, with whom I could be admitted to converse with more candor

candor and charity; of which the *Dublin* ministers having the knowledge, they were so offended at it, as to write to some at *London*, blaming them, as I heard, for such friendly carriage towards one who differ'd from them in such great points. So hot was their zeal, that they seem'd to envy me these small remains of friendship in another land, whither they had driven me, and still pursued me.

One thing I think worth mentioning here, viz. That tho the very eminent Mr. *Howe* had run into the *tritheistic* notion of a Trinity of three infinite minds or beings, (which, if any thing, is judged to be gross *polytheism*, and dislik'd by them) yet he was written to, as he told me when with him, to discourse me, I suppose in order to set me right; as if my pretended fault of holding two Gods was to be cured by admitting three. This looks as if they could have borne well enough with me if I had been a *tritheist*; and they had rather I should hold three Gods, than but one supreme person.

While I was at *London* I published a short account of my * case; and, out of their reply to this, in which they pretend to give a more just account, tho I think it to be much the same, I shall hereafter transcribe those ministers own words, that the reader may compare their relation, with what I have hitherto said of that matter.

* Annex'd to this Narrative.

After about ten weeks absence, tho I had discouraging accounts of the great rage there was against me in *Dublin*, I thought it necessary to return to my family, which I did: And finding what an odium my opinion, and consequently myself lay under, among many who knew little of such matters, I thought I ow'd that justice to myself, and especially to the truth, to shew what

evidence I had from the Scriptures: And therefore I wrote my *Humble Inquiry into the Scripture-account of the Lord Jesus Christ*, intending for *England* in a few days after it was printed. Of this some zealous Dissenters getting notice, resolved to have me prosecuted. Two of them, one of them a *Presbyterian*, and the other a *Baptist* Church-officer, being then upon the grand jury of the Queen's bench, were for making a presentment of me, as one of the establish'd church, on that jury, let me know; but that method was too slow, and I might probably have been gone unhurt. A more speedy method therefore was taken: the latter of those two Dissenters, viz. Mr. *Caleb Thomas*, immediately obtain'd the Lord Chief Justice (Sir *Richard Pyne's*) special warrant to seize me and the Books, and came himself, with the keeper of *Newgate*, to execute it on me, into my chamber, and was a very forward eager witness at my trial.

I, with part of the impression of the books, being thus seiz'd, was carry'd before the Lord Chief Justice, who deny'd at first to take bail, but afterwards told me, if I got the Attorney-General's consent, it should be allow'd; which was done, and two sufficient persons were bound, in a recognizance of 800 l. for my appearance. This was in *Hilary* term, *Feb.* 1702. at the end of which term I was bound over to *Easter* term; towards the end of which, the grand jury found the bill, in which I was indicted of *blasphemy*, to which I could not in justice submit, and so chose to traverse.

In this indictment I was charged with some expressions that were not at all in the book, nor according to my sentiments; and yet that careless grand jury, who ought in conscience to have compared the indictment with my book, returned

turned it to be a true bill. Among other Dissenters, one of my own *Deacons* * was of this jury. The * Mr. evidence was one *Laurence* †, and the *jailor* who † Leifsly. seized the books with me; but neither of them * The swore there were such words in the book, as the printer. indictment said, and that jury found.

I appeared to take my trial on this indictment, about the middle of *Trinity* term, 1703. and then I was answered, that the bill was not yet found; tho I had pleaded to it, and had a copy of it granted me. Nay, there had been *two* indictments already found: for finding, I suppose, that the *first* was wrong, as to the words pretended to be taken out of the book, the Queen's counsel preferred a *second*, as I was informed; but that did not please neither, and so a *third* was to be brought in, which was found by that grand jury, (which I think had been continued over from the last term) and my trial was deferred to *June* 14.

While I was under prosecution, expecting my trial at hand, Mr. *Boyse's* answer to my book was publish'd, and presented to the Lord Chief Justice; which I thought very unseasonable, from a long esteemed friend; who pleaded the people's impatience of delay. But the worst was, that his preface contained very *inflaming* expressions, as may be seen in the very beginning: I thought there was no need of tragical excitements to a zeal, that was already so outrageous. In that Preface indeed he declares, *that he had no hand in my prosecution* then depending; and I entirely believe it; and moreover, that he was troubled at it, as falling upon me, who since have found his kind help (as shall be acknowledged) in my deliverance at last: but then it is as certain, that he has not one word in dislike of that prosecution by others; nor against such methods

Prov. 20.
28.

methods of persecution in general, or the actors in it, or in favour of liberty. I think it had been very becoming him, and I should as readily have expected it from Mr. *Boys* as from those in *London*, who, in their late address to his Majesty King *George*, have declared their principles to be for a general toleration of all peaceable subjects; which they know is suitable to his calm and gracious disposition, whose throne is upheld by mercy: and I hope they'll take good care to establish the credit of their addresses, (which their enemies are ready to call in question) by shewing a better spirit than I found at *Dublin*.

S E C T. III.

The author's prosecution and trial for the said book before the Court of Queen's-Bench.

* Sir Ri.
Levins, af-
terwards
Ld. Chief
Justice of
the Com-
mon-
pleas.

† Dr.
Nar.
Marsh,
and Dr.
W. King.

* Sulp.
Sev. Hist.
l. 2. sub
finem.

ON June 14, before the court sat, I was informed by an eminent * Gentleman of the long Robe, that he found I should not be permitted to speak freely, but that it was designed to run me down like a wolf, without law or game: which I was soon convinced, was not spoken without ground.

Six or seven bishops were present, of whom the two archbishops † of *Armagh* and *Dublin*, took the bench: if they had used arguments with me, or had informed the court how unfit a jury of tradesmen were to judge of abstruse points of divinity; or had protested, as holy bishops of old did, against that (once) *novum & inauditum nefas, ut res ecclesiæ ante seculare tribunal judicaretur* *; i. e. That strange unheard of impiety, viz. that a spiritual or church-affair should come before a secular judicature! I should have thought it would have been to their praise.

The

* The indictment was for writing and publishing a book, wherein, it says, I had *blasphemously and maliciously* asserted, &c. That *Jesus Christ was not equal to God the Father, to whom he was subject*; — and this with a *sedition intention*, &c. In the indictment were three passages cited, that were but conclusions from premises not repeated there.

I knew they would find it difficult to prove me the author, and I conceive, as the indictment was laid, I could not be found guilty of publishing it, except I was the author; because the indictment said, I publish'd the book, in which it was said, *I [innuendo Tho. Emlyn] see no reason*, &c. so that if I was not the author, I had not publish'd such a Book, wherein I stood for *Thomas Emlyn*. They

* This Indictment was (in English) as follows: The jury for our sovereign Lady the Queen, upon their oaths say and present, that *Thomas Emlyn*, of the city of *Dublin* Gent. not having God before his eyes, nor yielding reverence to the true and orthodox holy christian religion, established in the kingdom of *Ireland*; but being wholly moved by the instigation of the devil, and presumptuously treating of the Divinity of our Saviour and Redeemer *Jesus Christ*, did on the eighth day of *February*, in the first year of the reign of our sovereign Lady *Anne* by the grace of God, of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland* Queen, defender of the faith, &c. at *Merchants-key*, in the parish of *St. Owen*, in the ward of *St. Owen*, in the county of the city of *Dublin* aforesaid, by force and arms, namely by sword, stick, &c. write and cause to be printed a certain infamous and scandalous libel intitled, *A humble inquiry into the Scripture-account of Jesus Christ, or a short argument concerning his Deity and Glory according to the Gospel*; in which libel he the said *Thomas Emlyn* did impiously blasphemously falsely and maliciously assert affirm and declare in these English words following, namely, *I* (meaning him the said *Thomas Emlyn*,) *see no reason there will be to oppose these Unitarians who think him*, (meaning *Jesus Christ* our Saviour and Redeemer) *to be a sufficient Saviour and Prince*; tho' he (meaning *Jesus Christ* our Lord aforesaid) *be not the only supreme God*. Nor can any with reason attempt to prove him, (meaning the same *Jesus Christ*) *to be such from his works*

John 18.
21

They put no question to me about it, but went on to prove the *Fact*, which I did not think myself bound to prevent by a forward confession. If they had pressed me in the case, I could not but have considered what our Lord Jesus himself said to the ensnaring question of the *High Priest*, *Why askest thou me? ask them that heard me*: nor was it my *faith*, but that particular *fact*, that was now inquired of.

As to my being the author, there was no proof; none pretended to swear it; the printer, tho' he had one half-sheet from me, declared he *knew not whose writing it was*. The Queen's counsel behaved with great heat and fury, inflamed, perhaps, by the presence of the *Fathers* of the church, who were mention'd also as a sort of terror to the jury by the *Lord Chief Justice*.

My works and office, as king of his Church; since it is implied that as such he (meaning Jesus Christ our Lord afore said) must do homage to God the Father, in delivering up his kingdom to him, and the very expression to God the Father makes it plain that there is no God the Son in the same sense, or in the same supreme essence with the Father. So then Jesus Christ in his highest capacity being inferior to the Father, (meaning God the Father) how can he (meaning Jesus Christ our Lord afore said) be the same God to which he (meaning Jesus Christ our Lord afore said) is subject, or of the same rank and dignity? So that I (meaning him the said Thomas Emlin) may safely say thus much, that the blessed Jesus, has declared himself not to be supreme God or equal to the Father, as plainly as words could speak or in brief express—And he the said Thomas Emlin did on the day and year afore said at Merchants-key afore said, in the parish and ward afore said, in the county of the city of Dublin afore said, publish the said infamous and scandalous libel with intention to disturb the peace and tranquillity of this kingdom, to seduce the pious true and faithful subjects of our said Lady the Queen, from the true and sacred Christian faith and religion, established in this kingdom of Ireland; to the evil and pernicious example of others and against the peace of our said Lady the Queen, who now is, her crown and dignity, &c.

My case seem'd so odious, that I had found it hard to get counsel; several, to whom I apply'd, refused to be concern'd for me; and those whom I did retain, were at the beginning so interrupted and borne down, that they wou'd not attempt it more. I heard one of 'em tell the Solicitor General *, that *he believed he had never seen such a prosecution since he had been at the bar.* Allen Brodrick Esq;

But finding no evidence of my being the author, they sent away for Mr. *Joseph Bayse*: Being examin'd, as to what I had preached of these matters, contained in the book, he acknowledg'd that *I had said nothing of 'em in the pulpit directly, but only some things that gave ground of suspicion to some.* Then they inquired of him, what I had said in private conference with the ministers. Mr. B. answer'd, that *what I had declared there, was what was judged by his brethren to be near to Arianism.* Now this proved only the agreement of the book to my sentiments; but yet strengthened the presumption, and had more influence upon the jury than all the rest, as Bishop *Wettenhal* * said to me in prison at one of his friendly visits, but *privately*; Bishop of Kilmore. for he writ me word, he might not otherwise come alone. *permissu superiorum.*

But forasmuch as what I had said to Mr. B. and his brethren, was upon a free christian profession, at their own desire, and not any forwardness of my own, I cannot but judge it was very hard to have this turned into evidence against me. For my own part, if any friend of mine shou'd unhappily be reconciled to the church of Rome, and, upon my going to discourse him on the point, shou'd with the honest freedom of a friend, and the simplicity of a christian, tell me his thoughts and his arguments, I think, if

if he were brought to a trial for it, threatening his life, or his ruin, rather than I wou'd make our private discourse of religion any evidence against him in a secular court; I say, I think, I cou'd rather suffer as much as I have suffer'd, and that cheerfully too, as in a case wherein *justice, faithfulness, and mercy*, (the *weightier matters of the law*) are greatly concerned. And I am willing to believe that Mr. B. was not pleased with this method himself, nor inclined to do me this wrong; but the torrent ran high in the court against me, and probably in that hurry he might not reflect, nor have those thoughts, which deliberation wou'd have suggested: else, I think, he wou'd certainly have earnestly desired the court to excuse him from so hard a part then, which only the surprize can excuse now.

This then was the method used against me: *first*, to prove what my opinions were from my private discourses, at the instigation of friends, who treated with me on the foot of conscience and religion; and *in the next place* to raise, or at least thence to strengthen a presumption, that I wrote the book which was agreeable to such opinions; and *lastly*, to make this presumption serve the turn of full evidence; and this in a case, where the charge was no less than *wilful and malicious blasphemy*, and sedition: and this too gathered only from *speculative* opinions, for which I had, if not *unanswerable*, yet certainly most *plausible* evidences from the holy Scriptures, and from our Saviour's own direct words, *My Father is greater than I*.

John 14.
28.

The Queen's counsel, sensible they had no more than presumption, urged it in express terms, that strong presumption was as good as evidence, and the court was so well disposed, that the Lord Chief Justice seconded it, and repeated it

to the jury ; and the torrent was so violent, that my own counsel cou'd not withstand it.

But all this had only related to the *fact* of my writing the book ; the main question remained, viz. whether what was related thence, in the indictment, was *blasphemy*? But this was never spoken to at all. I intended, after the matter of fact was over, to have spoken on this head ; and to have shown how unreasonable it was to account that *blasphemy*, which, for the *manner* of it, had not been uttered with any token of a designed contempt ; and for the *matter* of it, was not very different from what divers learned men and dignitaries of the Church had published : I could have shown that men of great probity and character differ very much about these matters ; and that if mere *error* must be judged *blasphemy* by a party of the contrary opinion, then may any thing be judged such, let but the adverse party have the drawing the consequences. *Calvinists* will be blasphemers with the *Arminians*, as *these* are with the *Calvinists*, and so it will go round the church and kingdom ; when yet none of these may be guilty of any real scornful reproach against God or his *Christ*, though yet every error is in the consequence of it contrary to the divine perfections.

The *Reformatio legum*, carried on under king Henry VIII. and Edward VI. pursuant to an act of parliament (a book of good regard, though not full authority) makes this difference between *blasphemy* and *heresy*. *Hæc est differentia inter blasphemiam & heresin, quod blasphemia, contumtu, contumelias in deum projicit, & iracundiâ ; sed heresis, errore, falsas opiniones suscipit, & inscienter.* i. e. " *Blasphemy* is a scornful and spiteful reproach utter'd in designed contempt of God ; " but *heresy* is, when false opinions unwittingly " and by mistake are received." This

This last was the worst that any man cou'd possibly with any reason pretend to charge me with ; but *heresy* was not punishable at common-law, and so it must be *blasphemy*, tho never so unjustly called so.

• Mr.
Brodrick.

But my *Counsel* wou'd say nothing on this head, on my behalf ; and *they* wou'd not let me speak for myself : when I offer'd it, the Queen's counsel turned upon me, and cry'd, *speak by your Counsel*.

The *Lord Chief Justice* was forward to sum up the evidence ; which when I saw, I desired I might first speak for myself, but he refused, saying to me, *he did not care, since I wou'd not satisfy him how I had the books, &c.* (which I, being on my defence, thought I was not bound to do :) And so he went on to the *jury*, magnifying presumption in lieu of evidence, and standing up with great anger, told the *jury*, if *they acquitted me, my lords the bishops were there*, or words to that effect.

• Sir
Humphry
Jervis.
† Robert
Rochford,
Esq;

The *jury* as men affrighted, never considered how unable they were to judge of such controversies ; nor how little reason they had to suppose a *malicious* intention in me ; and that there was only presumption of the fact itself, as was own'd by the Queen's counsel and the judge. After a little time, the court sending to 'em to hasten 'em, they brought in a *verdict*, guilty, some of 'em were afterwards sorry ; the *foreman**, and one other, came to me in prison, ready to help me, what they cou'd, when it was too late. Upon this, Mr. Attorney-General † desired I might have the *honour of the pillory* ; and so I was committed to the common goal, till June 16. being the last day of the term. In this interval, Mr. *Boyse* began to shew his great concern for me, and to use his interest to prevent

vent the rigorous sentence, that the Attorney-General had moved for.

Being put upon writing to the Lord Chief Justice, as what was expected from me, I wrote in prison the following lines :

My Lord,

TH O your Lordship may perhaps judge me guilty of a fault that you cannot admit any apology for, yet I may presume upon so much compassion, as to have leave to offer something by way of mitigation : I do assure your Lordship, that I have no greater desire than to learn the truth from the holy Scriptures, by which I shall always be guided according to my best light ; and if I am mistaken in my opinions, God knows, 'tis altogether unwillingly. It is most obvious that I have forfeited my interest, and sacrificed my reputation in the world, and exposed myself to such evils, as nothing cou'd ever make me to submit to, but the real fear of offending God ; which your Lordship will, I doubt not, allow for a very great reason. I am ready to do any thing consistent with my judgment and conscience ; but I am afraid to do that, for fear of shame from men, for which, my conscience may suggest to me, that *Jesus Christ* will be asham'd of me at the great day. I imagine by something spoken on my trial, that your Lordship conceived I had written some deriding scornful expressions of the *holy Jesus*, which I am sure I never designed ; the sum of the whole book being only to shew the *Father* to be greater than he, not denying him any glory consistent with that. I hope that as the great and merciful God will sooner forgive many errors of the understanding, than

' one wilful crime ; so your Lordship will make
 ' a considerable difference between *disputable*
 ' *errors*, which men of probity and learning are
 ' divided about, and *scurrilous reflexions* on the
 ' *blessed Jesus*, which are intended for contempt,
 ' which my soul shall ever abhor. I shall only
 ' presume to add, that as 'tis entirely for my
 ' conscience that I suffer, so I can never be de-
 ' prived of the comfortable support which such
 ' a consideration carries in it ; having, I hope,
 ' learned in some measure, to be conformed to
 ' him, who endured the cross, and will shortly
 ' appear the righteous judge of all. Knowing
 ' how much depends on your Lordship's favour,
 ' and clemency, as to the penalty I am liable to,
 ' I intreat for it,

And am

Your Lordship's, &c.

* Mr. Bro-
drick.

When I appeared to have judgment given a-
 gainst me, the Queen's counsel * moved, that I
 might retract, which I cou'd not consent to ;
 and so the *Lord Chief Justice* passed this sentence
 on me, viz. to suffer *a year's imprisonment*, to
 pay a *thousand pound fine* to the Queen, and to
 lie in prison till paid ; and to find security for good
 behaviour during life : telling me, that the pillory
 was the punishment due ; but because I was a
 man of letters, it was not inflicted. And then
 with a paper on my breast I was led round the
 four courts to be exposed.

This sentence, for bare matters of speculation
 and belief, was thought by some to be very severe
 and cruel. For not only was the *fine* exorbitant,
 and excessive, beyond my utmost ability to pay ;
 but the *crime* charged as *blasphemy*, was never,
 that I know of, declared to be *such*, even in any
 council, or in the schools ; and some lawyers say,

'tis not such by the laws of the land neither. Nor was any precedent to be found, that I cou'd hear of, but that before-mentioned, of one who P. 12; rudely and maliciously reviled the Lord Jesus, whom I have spoken of with serious reverence and great honour, according to the best judgment I can form of him from the sacred writings. As well might the two contending doctors, *South* and *Sherlock*, and all the writers in this controversy, have been brought under the same charge of *blasphemy*, if at their adversaries prosecution they had come before such a judge and jury, as I did: each can charge *blasphemy* on the other fast enough, if every thing that looks like error, and appears to be against God's perfections, as all error is, must pass for such, tho' expressed with conscientious reverence, and sober judgment.

And yet upon his passing this rigorous sentence, the Lord Chief Justice did not scruple to magnify the mercy of it, because, forsooth, in *Spain*, or *Portugal*, as he said, it would have been no less than burning. As if himself, or any other Protestant who durst openly profess against the corruptions of *Papery*, might not be put to death under that tyranny, and that too without any dishonour, from those mistaken reproaches of *blasphemy* and *heresy*, which wou'd be the pretended crimes that deserved it; or, as if it was such a mighty matter to boast of, that we are not quite so miserable as they who live under the cruelty of the *Inquisition*, or as our *Forefathers* were in *Queen Mary's* reign.

The process upon the writ *de hæretico comburendo* had been happily taken away in *Ireland* by act of parliament, but about seven or eight years before, viz. 7 *Guliel.* else I know not but I might have been put to the fiery trial; which

I hope I shou'd have been enabled to endure, thro' him whose *grace is sufficient*.

After sentence I was committed to the Sheriffs of *Dublin*, and was a close prisoner for something more than a quarter of a year in the Sub-Sheriff's house; but upon complaint Oct. 6. I was hastily hurry'd away to the common goal, where I lay among the prisoners in a close room, fill'd with six beds, for about five or six weeks; and then, by an *Habeas corpus*, I was upon my petition removed into the *Marshalsea* for my health. There I had more conveniency and room, where I wrote my answer to Mr. *Boyle's* Argument relating to the *worship of Christ Jesus*, and therefore it refers to the pages of his *Dublin* edition 4th, (also a more general answer to his whole book, which I sent to *England*, to a friend who died before my coming, and I cou'd never learn how he had disposed of the copy *.) Here I remained a close prisoner, till *July 21. 1705.*

S E C T. IV.

The behaviour of the dissenting Ministers and others to the author during his confinement. The author's release after above two years imprisonment.

DURING this, more than *two* whole years imprisonment, my former acquaintance (how intimate soever before) were altogether estranged from me; and all offices of friendship or civility in a manner ceased; especially among them of superior rank, tho' a few of the plainest tradesmen

* That copy was afterwards found, and is here inserted among the other tracts of the author.

tradesmen of my own people were more compassionate and kind.

Of all men, the *dissenting Ministers of Dublin* were the most destitute of kindness; not one of them (excepting Mr. *Boyse*) vouchsafed me so much as that small office of humanity in *visiting me when in prison*; nor had they so much pity on the soul of their erring brother (as they thought him) as to *seek to turn him from the error of his way*. These my familiars, with whom I had lived so many years in intimate society, never once made the attempt, nor discoursed me about it, from the first time that I met, and declared my sentiments to them: and yet I had never been backward to enter into sober argument, or to hearken to reasonable evidence. I suppose they might think this latter part to be in vain; yet what hindered them from the former, except that they judged me not of those objects of compassion which our Lord in the *last day* will be concern'd for, or inquire about? *Mat. 25.* and then by the same reason, if I had hungered they might also not have fed me, nor clothed me if they had seen me naked, nor have afforded me the kindness which our Lord Jesus not only permits, but requires to pass between a *Jew* and a *Samaritan*.

As to those reverend *Fathers* who were assessors on the bench, and whose presence gave warmth to the proceedings; if they had rather used means of instruction for my conviction, or if they had been as ready to make me a condescending visit in the prison to reclaim me, as to appear upon the secular tribunal; I can't think it had any way hurt their character, or been less agreeable to the pastoral office.

It might have been remembred also, what generous and tender kindness many of the *Bishops* and

and Clergy of Ireland, had found from Mr. Thomas Firmin, at London, when driven from their late desolated country; as appears by a letter of acknowledgment from eight Bishops*, printed in the *Life of Mr. Firmin*; who was well known to be the brightest example of the most active and diffusive goodness to the poor and indigent, not confining it to any sect or party.

* The letter was in these words:

To Mr. THO. FIRMIN.

S I R,

Being occasionally met together at Dublin on a public account, and often discoursing of the great relief, which the Protestants of this kingdom found among their brethren in England in the time of our late miseries; we cannot treat that subject without as frequent mention of *your name*, who so cheerfully and entirely devoted yourself to that ministry. We consider with *all thankfulness* how much the public charity was improved by *your industry*, and we are witnesses of *your indefatigable pains* and *fidelity* in the distribution, by which *many thousands* were preserved from perishing. We know also that some who refused to take out of the common stock, as being desirous to cut off occasion of murmurs, were however by *your mediation* comfortably subsisted by private benevolences. We doubt not but you and they have the earnest of your reward in the peace of your minds, which we pray God to fill with comforts and illuminate with his truths, making his grace to abound in them, who have abounded in their charity to others, and we intreat that you and all such as you know to have had their parts in this service would believe that we shall ever retain a grateful remembrance of it; as some testimony whereof we desire you for yourself in particular to receive this acknowledgment of your kindness to our brethren, and therein to

Your much obliged

And most humble servants,

Jo. Tuam.	Edw. Cork and Rol.
W. Clonfert.	N. Waterford.
Bar. Fernleigh.	R. Clogher.
S. Elpin.	W. Raphoe.

See Mr. Firmin's Life, p. 65, &c.

† And yet, in about 10 or 12 years time so intirely forgot it, as with rage and violence to prosecute one as a blasphemer, for no other fault but embracing the like opinions with Mr. Firmin.

But it seems when the *Clergy* of *Ireland* had an opportunity to shew *their* disposition and *spirit* towards one of Mr. *Firmin's* persuasion, in part, or at least passing under the same notion, it was quite *another* sort of spirit. *Their* principles appear such as would have *persecuted* and *harmed* him, tho *his* were such, as made him imploy his *substance*, his *time* and *labour*, to *support* and *comfort* them.

But as to the *Dissenters*, it look'd worse in them to promote and encourage persecution, when themselves were but *connived* at, having no *legal toleration* in *Ireland*. 'Tis not prudent to discover a violent persecuting spirit, before they can possess themselves of authority and power to exert it; or to awaken the *rods* and *axes*, when themselves, in the eye of the law there, are but criminals. I know they have had the applauses of Mr. *Leslie* in one of his *Rehearsals*; and indeed it had too much of the spirit of Popery, to escape his commendation: but I am fully persuaded, that it will justify all the severities they may suffer, as *Schismatics* from the establish'd church, if they'll pretend to justify what was done to me: and if because they had the advantage of a majority, and of civil authority, they might *eject*, and crush me for *heresy*, (which I am well satisfy'd is not such) why might not the rigid conformists, who are more their superiors, than they are mine, *eject* from their parishes, and prosecute them for *schism*, as having no ordination, no valid sacraments, nor ordinary means of salvation among them, tho themselves think they have? They that judge others, shall be judged; and why should not others interpret the Scriptures for them, as well as they would interpret them for me? or make unscriptural terms

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of communion, as boldly as they do? But of this afterwards.

I wish all sides may consider the wound given to the honour of the christian religion, by a persecuting spirit, more than by the worst book of controversy that ever was written: and 'tis some satisfaction to me, that while I suffer, as if I were an enemy to the *Lord Jesus*, and his religion, I can yet think I have given a greater testimony by my sufferings, of my sincere belief in both, than they who make more worldly advantages of their faith, and use those advantages to the hurt and grief of such as do them no other harm but to differ from them.

Thus I continued long under close confinement, without much appearance of relief; contented with this, that I knew for whom, and for what I suffered. Mr. *Boyse* made several attempts for my liberty; whose kindness I thankfully acknowledge, in that with great concern and much labour he pursued it from time to time; which has abundantly confirmed my affection and respects to him, and extinguished all uneasy resentments. I am sensible that what he did *against me*, was with *regret and grief*, what he did *for me*, was with *choice and pleasure*. So that I hope nothing in this history shall be any diminution to the character of his great worth and good temper; who endeavoured to allay the common *odium* against me as far as he could, without the loss of his own reputation. At length, thro' *his* frequent solicitations for a redcement of my fine, and by a very friendly and generous gentleman's help*, I obtained the then Duke of *Ormond's* favour; who gave directions to the commissioners of redcement, to reduce my fine to 100 marks, according to the *Lord Chancellor's* favourable report,

* Tho.
Medlicote
E/qi

(to whom my petition had been referred) that such *exorbitant fines* were against law.

Yet these *directions* to the commissioners were not received by them, as any authoritative rule; but I was obliged to give in a petition to them, in which I set forth my case, and that I had acted from no designed contempt of the blessed *Jesus*, in whom I truly believed; and was sorry *that any had been offended*, (which also I wrote in a letter afterwards to the *Primate*) and that my fine was beyond my ability. On which they ordered it to be reduced to *seventy* pounds, which was paid into her Majesty Queen *Anne's* Exchequer.

But it seems I had not yet done; for the *Primate* Dr. *Narcissus Marsh* (who with the Archbishop of *Dublin* † had sat on the bench at my trial) demanded a shilling in the pound of the whole fine, as the *Queen's almoner*. I thought his *fees* must have been reduced proportionably to her Majesty's reduction, and that the *church* was to be as merciful as the *state*; but I was mistaken herein. In short, after several applications, and letters to him, he would have *twenty* pounds of me, and so it was paid him; who thought it no blemish to his charity or generosity, to make this advantage of the misery of one, who *for conscience* toward God had *endured grief*.

† Dr. Wm King.

And thus after *two years*, and above a month's imprisonment, *viz.* from the 14th of *June* 1703, to the 21st of *July* 1705, and upon giving security, by two bondsmen, for good behaviour during life, I obtained a release from my bonds. But still there remains another, and more righteous judgment, where all both high and low shall stand and await the sentence of the great judge and bishop of souls, who will surely reverse all erroneous judgments here; for *he will render tribulation*

A Narrative of the Proceedings

tribulation to them who have troubled others; but to them who are troubled, rest and peace: and they who have conscientiously erred, will surely fare better, than those who have persecuted them for such error. For *they shall have judgment without mercy, who shew no mercy.* But I heartily and daily pray, this may never be the portion of any who have injured me: and as I hope the good God will forgive me if I have erred, since he knows 'tis with sincerity, and that I suffer for what I take to be his truth and glory; so I also hope he will pardon them, who have persecuted me, only from a mistaken zeal; for *they did it ignorantly in unbelief.*

And now after all, I thank my most merciful God and Father, that as he called me not to this lot of suffering, till I was arrived at some maturity of judgment, and firmness of resolution, so he left me not when my friends and acquaintance forsook me; that he supported my spirit, to endure this *trial of my faith* without wavering; that I was never so cast down, as to be tempted to renounce the truth; that he preserved my health under this long confinement; that I had a few friends who were a comfort to me in my bonds; (the Lord grant *they may find mercy of the Lord in that day*) that he inclined any in authority to shew, at last, compassion to me: and that he has brought me out of prison, and *set my feet in a large place*; that I have yet food and raiment left me; and above all, that he has given me a mind, I think, as well contented with it, as ever I was in my greatest prosperity. I am content to want the kind and vain respects of the world, and to give up my name to mistaken reproach; or to lose it (if that may be) in silent unregarded *obscurity.* I have suffered the loss of many things, and do not repent; but upon the
review,

review, *I do still count it all but loss and dung,* if it has any way advanced the excellency of the knowledge of *Christ Jesus my Lord.*

It is a further ground of rejoicing, to see the light of important truth breaking forth in many other parts, and spreading abroad its beautiful ray; that God has raised up divers others, bold enough to profess it, and able enough, with his assistance, to defend it; I mean with weapons of a spiritual warfare, against those whose great confidence and dexterity are in those which are carnal. And tho it has been my great *gravamen* or misery to be laid by in silence; so that I have been sometimes ready to lament myself as an *unprofitable servant*, turned out of his master's service: yet if I have contributed any thing to retrieve the injured honour of the *peerless* majesty of the *one God and Father* of our *Lord Jesus*, whom to be like to, was the great glory of our *Lord Jesus*; and if the things which have happened to me, have fallen out *rather to the furtherance of the Gospel*, I shall not think myself to have been wholly useless. For tho I shall ever prefer the interests of serious piety, charity, and practical holiness, to any barren speculations; and had much rather a man should love our Lord Jesus in sincerity, than barely think of him just as I do: yet if I have also served the cause of his truth, it may be 'tis beyond what I could have done, by teaching men only what they would have taught them; because there will never be men wanting to take that office, while fewer will take the part I have borne, to the hazard of all that the world counts dear and pleasant. However, as matters were, I had no room for an innocent choice, nor any other part but this left me; being judged unworthy, and made incapable, of all the rest. Yet, during my confinement

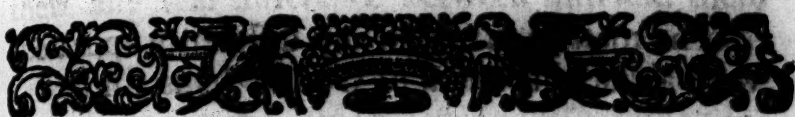
finement in the *Marshalsea*, as I suffered on account of religion, so I continued to preach there*: I had hired a pretty large room to myself: whither on the *Lord's-days* resorted some of the *imprison'd Debtors*; and from without doors came several of the lower sort of my former people and usual hearers, who would not wholly forsake me, nor refuse to worship God with me; which was a great pleasure in my condition. And if in the whole I may but approve myself to my great *Judge*, and giver of the prize; I am not anxious about the applause or censures of the spectators, who shall be judged also.

London, Sept.
1718.

THO. EMLYN.

* See his farewell Sermon upon his release from prison, Sermon. 6. in the volume of Sermons.





AN

A P P E N D I X.

S E C T. I.

The author's own account intituled, The Case of Mr. E— in relation to the difference between him and some dissenting Ministers of the city of Dublin, which he supposes is greatly mis-understood.

1. **T**WAS agreed, that God is but one only infinite, necessary, perfect, and supreme Being; or Spirit; with one understanding, will, &c. who is the only object of divine worship. |
2. That in this one God there may be three modal distinctions, by which divines do usually explain the Trinity now: not only three relations of Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier belong to God; but he may be as much three as man's soul is, in which is understanding, will and life, all in one single spirit.
3. That this infinite God is in an unspeakable manner united to and present with the man Christ Jesus, dwelling and operating in him, actuating and managing him by a fixed, perpetual influence, as the governing principle.

The

The matters in which any difference appeared, were about this union of God to Jesus Christ.

1. Mr. E— conceived it more for the honour of Jesus Christ, to suppose the complete Deity in its full conception, to be united to, to dwell and operate in him, than to suppose it only of a portion of God, or of God but partially considered. And he judges this to be manifest from the Scripture, which says, *in him dwells all the fullness of the Godhead, or Deity*, Col. 2. 9. not a part only : and not only the Word, but the *Father* (says he) *dwells in me, and does the works*, Joh. 14. 10. So that his miraculous works are ascribed to the divine nature of the Father in him ; also to the Holy Spirit, which was in him beyond measure, *Acts* 10. 38. What is there in all this against Scripture, or the honour of Jesus Christ?
2. The question was, Whether this Union be strictly personal, so as that God and the Man *Christ Jesus* should be one and the same person?

'Tis confessed the Scripture never says so in plain terms ; nay, 'tis not pretended that they can tell wherein personal Uniry consists. So that it seems very strange, that men should lay the stress of the Christian religion on such a nice and subtle philosophical notion, which is unscriptural ; nay, when Christ distinguishes himself, as *another person* from God, to any ordinary apprehension, saying, *of myself, or of God*, John 7. 17. Again, distinguishing *himself* from God, John 8. 42. What words can be used more expressive of a personal distinction ?

To shew them that the main stress lay here, Mr. E— did, and still may challenge them to shew

shew any real difference between him and them as to the real object of divine worship: he conceives 'tis only about the name by which it shall be called, not the object itself. *What* they intend by Christ (*viz.* the divine nature) he esteems, with them, to be God in the highest sense, most worthy of divine adoration, and of all possible honour, love and service: *what* he thinks to be signified by the term *Christ* most properly [*viz.* the *anointed man*] they refuse to worship with supreme divine honour, as well as he. So that on both sides the worship terminates on the same object, *viz.* that divine nature which is united to, and dwells in the man Jesus Christ, and which may be worshipped either absolutely, or as related to, and being in him: only they think this divine nature may be called *Christ*; he, that it must rather be called *God*. But as to the thing itself, 'tis the self-same object; and all the difference is about the denomination, and those philosophical speculations by which it shall be governed.

The reason why he thought, that under the name *Christ* was never properly signified the divine nature, but only the human, (tho he did grant that *metonymically* it might include the divine, or him that inhabited in the man) was in general this: not only because the name *Christ* signifies one *anointed*, *i. e.* who has received commission and qualifications from another, *viz.* from him who is God by nature; for *God hath made that Jesus both Lord and Christ*; but chiefly because he finds that *Christ* and *God* are so currently distinguished from each other under those characters; as, *the head of Christ is God*, 1 Cor. 11. 3. *Ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's*, chap. 3. 23. So, *the Kingdom of Christ, and of God*, Eph. 5. 5. *Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast*

Appendix to the Narrative.

last sent, John 17. 3. Now 'tis evident that things are not wont to be distinguished from each other by a name which is equally common to both in the same sense; for that were to go about to distinguish them by what carries no distinction at all in it. I could not distinguish between *Peter* and *John*, by calling one of them *a man*, when both are alike so.

Nor will he meddle with another question started, *viz.* Whether (since the great title of Jesus Christ is that of the *Son of God*) he be that *self-same God*, whose *Son* he is?

Only he declares, that he never denies him to be, as he is called, *God*; but still thinks *the Father* is greater *than he*, John 14. 28. Which words are interpreted of Christ, as God, by *Athanasius*, *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, *Nazianzen*, &c. See *Cudw. Intel. Syst.* p. 599.

True indeed, Mr. E—— does think more honourably of the man Jesus Christ than they, but yet attributes nothing to him, either beyond the capacity of an exalted creature, or beyond the warrant of Scripture, (as he conceives) by which he will be determined. He thinks the great things of power, knowledge, &c. attributed to Jesus Christ therein, if taken in their *highest Sense*, may be spoken *metonymically*, as referring to the divine nature inhabiting in him, to which all perfection belongs without any limits, and originally: or if taken in a *qualified sense*, they may be understood *properly* of the exalted *Man Christ*, who must be the judge of all, *Acts* 17. 31. and whose capacities he believes to be far beyond what most conceive.

Finally, he desires it may be known, that he never voluntarily published these matters, nor desired to make any disturbance among the people about them. But his opinion was curiously pry'd
into,

into, and this declaration of his judgment was wrested from him by an importunate repeated inquiry and demand, which he could not well resist; and since he must speak, he durst not but speak with all sincerity. Nor was he for imposing his notions on others, tho he could not (without reason) deny them himself.

Nor had he troubled the world with this now, but because of that extravagant clamour which some have raised, without any provocation, against one that envies no man the liberty of his thoughts, which he resolves to enjoy himself, but guided by Scripture light.

Now upon the whole, Whether Mr. E—— has any other end than to know the truth of the Gospel concerning the object of his worship, which being every good man's daily work, he had need be well instructed in, and inquisitive about:

Whether having no other aim, nor any other possible temptation to influence him, he deserves such censure and reproach, by them who should know, that *charity is greater than faith*, 1 Cor. 13. 13. and that these matters have been in controversy almost from the beginning of Christianity, as appears by *Orig. cont. Cels.* 1. 8. p. 387. where it may be easily seen on which side *Origen* judged the truth to lie in those days:

And whether or no they who acted in this matter, have acted either with due *prudence* or *charity*, he leaves to be judged by any calm and wise man now, till it shall be most righteously judged over again by the all-wise God, and his Son Jesus Christ hereafter. *Amen*, so be it. In the mean time *God's will be done*.

VOL. I.

E.

Note.

1 Tim. 2. 5. *There is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.*

Note. That at the University of Oxford, November 25, 1695, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, with the Heads of the colleges and halls, in a general meeting, judg'd and decreed these propositions [viz. *There are three infinite, distinct minds and substances in the Trinity: Item, that the three persons in the Trinity are three distinct infinite minds or spirits, &c.*] to be false, impious, and heretical, contrary to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and especially of the Church of England. Tho'tis well known, that among the Clergy, both of Conformists and Dissenters, there are that openly hold and profess these things without disturbance, saving that they mutually condemn, and are condemn'd of others for *heresy*.

S E C T. II.

The Dublin ministers account, (drawn up by Mr. Boyle in their name) intituled, The difference between Mr. E—— and the dissenting Ministers of Dublin truly represented. By which it may be seen how little their account differs from Mr. E——'s, as to the occasion of their rejecting him.

P. 10.

‘ **H**E cannot (say they) but know, that in his
 ‘ public-exposition of several chapters of the
 ‘ New Testament, he had put an Arian or Socinian
 ‘ sense on such passages, as we take to be the clearest
 ‘ proofs of the Deity of Christ. He did not as-
 ‘ sert his Divinity in expounding the 1st chapter
 ‘ to the Hebrews: He apply’d 1 John 5. 20.
 ‘ wholly to the Father, without taking notice that
 ‘ any had apply’d it to our blessed Saviour. His
 ‘ paraphrase on Rev. 2. 23. was, that we know
 ‘ not how far God may communicate to a crea-
 ‘ ture the knowledge of mens hearts. In two
 ‘ sermons on Phil. 2. 8, 9, he took no notice of
 ‘ the Deity of Christ, but evidently supposed
 ‘ him capable as man of exercising such an uni-
 ‘ versal dominion.

‘ And

And 'twas not till after such ^{apparent} and repeated grounds of suspicion as these, that he was obliged to declare his judgment in this important point; and in such circumstances the said ministers think there was very just reason to put him upon it, to prevent the danger of the people's being perverted from the common faith.

And as to any other unjust calumnies cast upon Mr. E——, the said ministers not only had no hand in them, but did their utmost to rebuke them, and some of them did so in their public sermons; and they were sorry they could not free him from the main charge of denying the Deity ^{† i. e. Supreme} of Christ, being from his own free declaration fully convinc'd the charge Deity. was but too true.

But they (the ministers) cannot think any P. 11. judicious Christian will arraign either their *prudence* or their *charity*, for discountenancing a doctrine which strikes so deep, they think, at the foundation of christianity, &c. Nor do they think any understanding Christians will censure them for want of either *prudence* or *charity* in their refusing to continue Mr. E—— as an allowed approved teacher among them, who had already began to insinuate this doctrine; who, upon inquiry, openly avow'd it; who himself desired to be dismiss'd from his charge if his difference of judgment in this point could not be borne with: nay, who profess'd himself uneasy, that he had been so long under restraint from more openly declaring his sentiments concerning it. Nor, do they see wherein

And yet Mr. Boyle in his preface, blaming Mr. E—— for not having openly declared his judgment, says, that he had only insinuated it in a few occasional dark and ambiguous

‘ wherein they could have express’d more tenderness to Mr. E——, than they did, in consistency with their own judgment, and the zeal they ought to express in defending the Faith once delivered to the Saints; and in which they have the concurrence of almost all that wear the Christian name. And they are confident that no Pastors in any of the reform’d churches would, in the like circumstances, have acted otherwise than they have done; for they gave Mr. E—— time to consider the matter, declaring their readiness to receive him, on retraction of his opinion. So that Mr. E—— has no ground to complain of any unreasonable hardship in this matter.

P. 13.

‘ The said ministers having given this just and true account of those opinions of Mr. E—— that were the ground of their dissatisfaction with him, do think this bare relation of the matters in difference sufficient to justify their conduct, without making any further remarks upon it. And they do declare, they have so great a respect for Mr. E——’s abilities, that it was not without extreme regret and grief that they thought themselves oblig’d to disown him as an approved teacher among them. But they look upon the denial of the Divinity of our blessed Saviour, to be a doctrine of too dangerous a consequence to be *tolerated among them*.’

i. e. Supreme Deity, and equality with the Father.

It plainly appears from this account, that all the instances they allege, (whether exactly true, or not,) did only give some grounds of suspicion, as themselves say, and were only negatives; he did not assert, and took no notice, &c. of the Deity (i. e. supreme Deity) of the Son. Now the question will be, Whether (with men of prudence, and christian charity) a suspicion of my different judgment from theirs, was reason sufficient

ficient *first* to press me to a full declaration of my mind, and *then* to discard me, or remove me from my people, and from my ministerial office, when I had told them my different sentiments in these matters; rather than to bear with this difference, which at most was *so tenderly* intimated by me, it seems, that *not two* of the congregation were then *known* to perceive it, or to be offended at it, whatever might be indeed, or may be said since; and when at the same time I was willing to receive all that the *holy Scriptures* declared of this matter; and only dissented from their interpretations, and devised explications of a subject, which they acknowledge they don't understand, nor could explain.

It appears, their judgment in the case is, that the not assenting to the *supreme Deity of Jesus Christ*, is such a crime that no one *suspected* thereof, and who upon their demand will not profess it in *other words* than those of the *holy Scriptures*, is to be allowed to preach, or so much as to be *tolerated among them*. Upon this I shall make a few *remarks*; and the rather, because the same spirit is working among some here, both at *London* and in the country, at this time with great animosity.

S E C T. III.

Some remarks on the Dublin Ministers account, in relation to their imposing spirit, and uncharitable principles.

I. **T**HE foundation on which the *Dissenters* have gone in their separation from the establish'd Church, has been this; That *new terms* of Christian communion, narrower than

Christ has made them, ought not to be imposed by human authority; That this imposing uncharitable humour is what the Word of God greatly condemns; and That such human inventions, tyrannically urged on others, are destructive of the peace and purity of the church. I think I need not prove this, which runs through all their apologies—*Making new terms of Christian communion, or narrowing the terms which Christ has fixed, is what the Word of God freely declares against, says Dr. Calamy; and tells us, This is a main principle of conscientious nonconformity, in which the old Puritans, and modern Dissenters agree. Comfort and Counsel to Dissenters, p. 36. And again, p. 42. Let us stand to our principles, which are for scriptural terms of communion, &c.* How often have we had *Hales, Chillingworth, and Stillingfleet's Ironieum*, quoted to this purpose, against the imposers of new and narrow terms of communion? And I remember, in the *Dissenters address to King William* on his accession to the throne, when they wanted a legal toleration, they professed their desire was, *That the rule of christianity might be the rule of conformity.* This is what they have perpetually valued themselves upon, viz. That they were for keeping nearer than others to the scriptural rule.

II. That the Dissenters, in rejecting me and others who willingly accept the Scripture, for not assenting to *human articles, phrases, and creeds*, stand chargeable with the spirit of imposition, and with *narrowing* the Scripture-terms of communion; because we are rejected by them for want of *faith*, when yet we believe all that the Scripture reveals, and consent to practise what it enjoins. They'll tell us indeed we don't understand them right, and therefore require us to believe their sense, and subscribe to their explications.

Let

Let them then help us what they can by rational instruction, to understand them right; but not determine us to their explications, when they seem to us to be groundless and false. What is this but to set up for judges of controversy, and to usurp *dominion* over their brethrens faith? a thing which the Apostles would not have done; for they did not use to bear down men with an high hand, even with their infallible light itself, but reasoned, and convinced men, and left them to search the Scriptures, and to judge for themselves, and to be persuaded in their own minds; and as far as they did attain and agree, to walk together; and for the rest, to wait for more light from the God of wisdom. Does the Scripture say *there are three persons that make one God?* or that *the Son is the same substance with the Father and the Spirit?* Or that *the Spirit is God?* They can't pretend this is said expressly: if it be, then let them shew it, and we will presently assent to it, and to all that the sacred writings say.

But, say they, the Scriptures speak what is in effect the same, tho' not in direct words. Well, then in our subscribing to the Scriptures, I hope, we assent to what they say is *in effect* the same; and why then are we rejected? But, say they, you don't think 'tis in effect the same. Very good! and have you authority to fix the sense of Scripture for others? Are they none of Christ's disciples, or ministers, who do not honour *your* interpretations, and glosses, as much as *his* law itself? We say to you, give us *Christ's revelation*, and *God's oracles*: and you cry, Nay, but we'll give you *as good*; we will give you our *articles and confessions*, and *catechisms*, that have *all the very quintessence* of the Scriptures, and are a great deal *more clear and certain* in their sense than they. The Scriptures, say they, are so written, that assenting to them is no test of one

sound in the faith; but a man may still be an *Heretic* for all that, unless he believes our explanations. But is not this to vilify the Scriptures as a *lead rule*, and a *nose of wax*? &c. just as the *Papists* do, and with the same design, *viz.* to make it serve as an excuse for tyranny and persecution: so that both in the way and the end, they imitate the *Papists*. These therefore will have a human judge of controversy, and so would these *Dissenters*, and other imposers. The *Papists* say, they must stand to the judgment of a general council; and what do *these* say less? The one say, we must be guided by the council of *Trent*; the other, by the *assembly at Westminster*. Or if they could say, by the council of *Nice*, (which they cannot) 'tis all one: *Nice*, and *Trent* councils, are both alike in authority, if they impose any thing besides the Scriptures.

'Tis evident when these men impose their, or any unauthoriz'd mens explication, 'tis because the Scriptures speak not in so determinate a sense as their *articles* do. This shews, that what God would leave in a latitude, they will have more restrain'd, and so require more than he has required; and plainly confesses, that the Scriptures speak not so fully for their opinions as they could wish, wherefore they like them not so well as their own human compositions: and thus while they cry out of *human inventions* in worship, themselves urge *human inventions* in creeds. Whereas, I should think, if any men now can give us a better account, than the Scriptures do, *what God is*, and what we should believe of him, they may also as well tell us, better than the Scriptures do, how to worship him *decently*.

It may be, and is pretended, that they do not impose *new articles of faith*, but only explain the old. But if I find this explication different from the old faith, then it is to me a *new article of faith*;

faith; and on this pretence men may innovate as boldly as the *Papists*: for why may not these as well plead, that in requiring the *invocation of Saints*, they only explain that article of the *communion of Saints*; and that in the doctrine of *indulgences*, and the *Pope's pardons*, they only explain the next article, *viz. the forgiveness of Sins*, and so on? And thus the *Trent-creed* has no more added any new articles, than the *Dissenters creed*.

Besides all this, 'tis absurd to suppose a *creed*, designing to express fundamentals, should need violent strainings, and obscure or abstruse consequences, to fetch in more than is obvious, and plainly to be understood from it; and that about the most important matters. We find in all human *articles and agreements*, that however some accidental and lesser points may be only implicitly included, yet that the grand fundamental points are always *expressly* inserted; otherwise the composers would be reproached with egregious stupidity and folly: and it were very astonishing to suppose a *creed*, or form of fundamental doctrines intended as a *test* of Christianity, should leave a *Trinity of three persons in one God*, and the *supreme Deity of Jesus Christ*, and the *holy Spirit*, to be found out by such dark *logic*, and strange consequences, as some use in the case, if these were really such fundamentals in Christianity as is pretended; or that they should not be at all expressed. Was there ever any more said concerning the *holy Spirit's* nature, in any account given of the *antient creed*, (which most certainly the *first Christians* had and held as sacred) than this, *I believe in the Holy Ghost*? Did the council of *Nice* go any farther? Now will any reasonable man say, that this is a clear declaration of his being a distinct person, and yet *equal to the one God the Father*? The like might be said of other points;

points: and if neither the Scriptures, nor the antient creed, are exprefs or plain in these matters, which *they* would impose on their brethren, I leave it to be judged by any sober-minded man, whether themselves, who cry out against impositions in religion, be not, even in their low estate, as truly guilty of an usurping imposing spirit and practice, as others whom they can so freely censure for it. Vain men! who has made you such judges and rulers over your brethren, that you should set up for such *authoritative* decisive expounders of Christ's doctrines, that churches and ministers shall stand and fall by your opinions; and that none shall be admitted or continued in his ministry or church, who will not call you Master and Father; nor can approve *your* interpretations as well as *his* laws, and that because they judge those to be inconsistent herewith?

See Mr.
Baxter's
Life, fol.
p. 198.

Ch. 4.
§. 17.

If it be said, that without this, we can't distinguish mens opinions, because a *Socinian* or a *Papist* will subscribe to the Scripture and creed; I give Mr. Baxter's answer, viz. that *it is so much the better*; and 'tis the more fit to be the matter of our concord. Why should men be fond of marks of distinction, which create strife? *Ubi lex non distinguit, non est distinguendum*. If God has pleased to set down any doctrines so generally, that all cannot have the same conceptions of them, certainly they are very presumptuous, and fond of divisions, who will bind all to believe them, in this or that particular and determinate sense. We cannot too often hear those excellent words of Mr. Chillingworth: *This restraining the Word of God from that latitude, and the understandings of men from that liberty wherein Christ and his Apostles left them, is and hath been the only fountain of all the schisms of the church, and which makes them immortal*. And this is what these Dis-

Dissenters are guilty of. Whence I infer ~~two~~ things more, if they continue in this method of imposition and tyranny.

S E C T. IV.

Some inferences from the foregoing remarks.

I. Hence infer, that the *Dissenters* can shift their principles as interest or humour serves. It is notorious how violent they once were against *toleration*, in the long parliament, and *Cromwel's* time: then it was, *The nation-by Calamity, praying sin of toleration*; and then it was said, *We must fetch the devil out of mens consciences, &c.* By Burroughs, But it has been said often, That now the *Dissenters* have altered their notions, and are grown wiser, and of more large and charitable principles; and that former weakneses of their own, and the sins of their fore-fathers, should not be imputed to them, who are of another temper. This their adversaries will not easily believe to be really true: they say, 'tis but of late, if the fierce domineering spirit be laid; and they suspect, if they had power they would use it much otherwise than now they pretend. And I doubt they'll have some ground for their jealousy: for if they no sooner have an occasion given to try their charitable temper, by some of their brethren's dissent from the common opinions of the rest, but presently they return to their former spirit of *imposition* and tyranny, disturbing other congregations, excommunicating the *laity*, and damning, reviling, and deposing such *ministers* as reject their *human articles*, (which are all the ways by which they can shew a persecuting spirit, while out of power;) how can they be believ'd? And they who in my case could solicit the secular power,

power, when in *other* hands, will hardly let it sleep when in their *own*, without using the advantages that law and their power may give them, to the hurt of such as differ from them.

And tho in their *address to King William*, on his *accession* to the throne, they desired the *rule of Christianity might be the rule of conformity*: Yet in their *address*, 1697, (when a toleration was settled) presented by the same hand (Dr. Bates) they desired earnestly a restraint of the *licentiousness of the press*, in relation to the *Unitarians* books; and yet *these* authors proceeded upon the same rule of Christianity, *viz.* the *Bible*, tho differently understood. And if that was not sufficient to entitle *them* to liberty, neither could the *Dissenters* claim it, whose writings went upon a different explication of the *sacred text*, from what the asserters of episcopacy give; so that they go backward and forward, as occasion requires: Or else we must say, (which is the true state of things sometimes, and perhaps now) that they have two sorts of men; *one* for *liberty and forbearance*; and, when *that* is most useful to them, and acceptable to others, *these* men appear, and it goes for the declaration and voice of the *Dissenters* in general: but when they have any particular provocation, tho only from the liberty some of their brethren take of dissenting from the rest of them, then the *other* narrow-spirited part cry down liberty, and raise a hatred and persecution, if they can, of such Dissenters. The principle of their admired *assembly's larger catechism*, under the *second commandment*, is, That it forbids *toleration of all false religion*; and this is their *form of sound words*, which they recommend, and have reprinted the last year. And when *these* come to practise according to it, their *few moderate* men lie still, and dare not stir openly

openly to oppose the rest : but if they go on at this rate, what they say on occasion, will be little regarded or credited by wise men, and no body will be the better for the moderation and fair speeches of a few.

II. I think, by these measures, they will very much justify all the severities they have complained of, from those of the *established church*, against themselves. I ask them, Why was I, or why are others, to be rejected and deposed, and turned out of office and benefice ? Is it not because we cannot assent to your unscriptural notions of a *Trinity of God*, and *personal Union of two Minds*, &c. which we can no more find in the holy Scriptures, than you there can find *diocesan Bishops*, and the church-government established by law ? And if you think nevertheless that 'tis plain your doctrines are agreeable to Scripture, others think 'tis as plain that the *Episcopacy* which you dislike, is most agreeable to Scripture, and *apostolical* direction ; and that you have no ministry, nor valid sacraments among you : nay, they think and say, that the *first* stands upon as good evidence as the *Canon* of the Scripture stands. Now if the Dissenters can justify their ejecting their brethren, only for holding, tho never so conscientiously and peaceably, some opinions and speculations, different from their interpretation, but not against the letter of the sacred Scriptures ; then why might not the Episcopal party justify their turning out all such *Presbyterian* Teachers from their *parishes*, as would not approve of Episcopacy, and accept episcopal ordination, and declare for absolute non-resistance ? &c. They were not such fools, not to say they were in the right, and you in the wrong ; or not to bring texts as near to their point, as I conceive you do. And I verily think, if you can justify

justify the ejection of me or others, in a like case, from the ministry, for a different understanding of the Scriptures, I could justify the ejection of your *fathers* and others, at the restoration, on *Bartholomew-day* 1662. and so all your tragical complaints will be answered by yourselves at last: And the *narrowing the terms of communion*, by unscriptural impositions, shall have your countenance also: so that you will seem to be converts to them who cast out your fathers; yea, and to their principles too, on which they did it, and against which yourselves have been so long contending.

Such men may see themselves reproved and reproached, by Mr. *Baxter*; who, after a long study and much experience, and many grieved thoughts about church-divisions, wrote in his later days against hasty judging, and *conceited knowledge, pretending certainty in things uncertain*, in his book of *Knowledge and Love*. Where, speaking, p. 78. of ministerial subscription, he says, “ ’Tis too much to require of him a sub-
 “scription that he implicitly believes *all* that
 “is in the Bible which you shew him, because
 “there may be errors in that copy: Nay, such
 “subscription should not, as necessary, be re-
 “quired of him to all the *real* Word of God;
 “for if by error he doubt, whether *Job*, *Chro-
 “nicles*, or *Esther* be canonical, I would not be
 “he that should therefore forbid him to preach
 “the gospel. I am sure the ancient church im-
 “posed no such terms on their pastors, when
 “*Synefius* was chosen bishop before he believed
 “the resurrection. What then shall we say of
 “the *Roman* insolence, which thinks not *all* the
 “*Scriptures* big enough, but ministers must also
 “subscribe to so many *additions of their own*,
 “and to traditions and expositions of fathers?
 “

“ &c. — No wonder if such men do tear the
“ churches of Christ into pieces.”

’Tis not without a melancholy horror, that
considerate men read the tragical history of the
churches and their bishops and councils; for se-
veral hundred years after *Constantine*: worrying
and devouring each other with rage and fierce
ignorance; casting firebrands and anathemas,
with wanton pride and hellish sport, on all that
stood in their way; rending and tearing Christian
societies asunder, who else might have lived to-
gether in love and peace, and godly edifying;
and all from a haughty ambition of making others
say as they said, not content with their saying
as Christ and his Apostles taught. And after all
this woful experience, shall there yet be no
amendment! Alas, we cry out upon their way,
and say, ’twas folly, but yet *their posterity ap-
prove their sayings*. And the very *Dissenters*,
who pretend so long to have borne testimony
against human inventions and impositions of un-
scriptural terms of communion by others, can
themselves act the same cruel part, and cast out
those who receive the whole word of Christ; and
will own none for true *Israelites*, who cannot
pronounce their *Shibboleth*, &c. nor join novel,
inconsistent, and unintelligible phrases to the plain
and primitive creed. *Thou that sayest a man should
not steal, dost thou steal?* I wish they would learn
once again from *Geneva*, where, as, I am well
informed, they require no such subscription of
those whom they ordain, tho’ they exhort them
to study the Scripture, and use prudent caution
in what they teach.

I can’t but pity young dissenting teachers,
(that are honest, and have not learned the cun-
ning craftiness of the world) who before they
are aware are drawn into grievous perplexities:
they

they find, they cannot please their people without flattering them in their error, and either denying, or with difficulty and disguise concealing great truths of Christianity; nor yet dare they offend them, by telling them the truth, for fear of disgrace or beggary. I think parents who have any concern for the souls or bodies of their children, should be afraid to train up any of theirs to the ministry among the Dissenters, unless they have tolerable estates, or some other calling, on which to subsist; and not cast them wholly into a dependence on a people weak, and perhaps so humourish, that if their prejudices, errors, and accustomed notions and phrases be contradicted, tho by the fullest evidence of Scripture or Reason; nay, if they be not maintained by him, they rise up in rage and scorn against their teacher, who makes conscience of telling them the whole counsel of God, and turn him out to misery and want. So that the unhappy man wishes he had rather been of any honest trade: but alas! his time for that, and his little supplies are spent, and he knows not what to do, or how to turn to other business: he could be content with a very little; but quite to starve his body, and perhaps his family, appears very terrible. And 'tis a very sad *dilemma* he is under, to pinch either his carcase or his conscience, and so to get his bread *with the peril of his life*, shall I say, or of his soul? Who would venture his child on these terms, in this day of light and inquiry? especially venture him not with any improvements of literature, which are dangerous. And 'tis but a poor comfort to a man to say, he can confide so far in the dulness of his child's understanding, that he is secure he'll never think otherwise than he has been taught when a child; nor go beyond the standard of orthodoxy, in the

the *Assembly's Catechism and Confession*. Besides, at this rate, the dissenting interest will hasten into deserved contempt, and a *Teacher* there, be one of the most abject and servile things in the world.

I am far from intending by these things to fix a general charge upon the *whole body* of the Dissenters at *London*: whatever those in *Ireland* have done, and whatever countenance and ratification some others seem to have given to their proceedings against me; yet I freely own, here are some of another spirit, (as also in the country) who detest this imposing humour of their narrow-spirited and more uncharitable brethren; and who are not of the lowest rank among them neither, for ability or esteem; and who, if they are not known to be of sentiments differing from the common *Confessions of Faith*, yet are against the binding *these*, or any *unscriptural Forms* upon their brethren; and against rejecting them from the ministry for not assenting to them, while they conscientiously promote love to *Jesus Christ*, and obedience to his laws, and confess him to be Lord: and tho' it be done to the glory of the Father as the only *ultimate* end, yet they esteem not this a crime, for which to depose them; they are hearty in declaring for a *general Toleration*, according to the late Address: whereas the *Dublin* zeal says, in relation to my differing sentiments, that they account them not fit to be *tolerated among them*.

And 'tis not now only that they begin to shew this moderation; but I must do them the justice to acknowledge that several of the ministers here, even at that time, when I first was driven from my people, did heartily censure and condemn the *Dublin* ministers, as very imprudent, and, as the expression then was, *infatuated* men;

and this after their own written Account had been read, as well as mine heard; tho, perhaps they thought one half of the Apostle's advice not very safe to follow, viz. to let their moderation be known to all men, lest it might prevent their usefulness to their people, or the people's usefulness to them.

Phil. 4. 5

P. 4.

See examination of Mr. Lefly's last dialogue.

At that same time the worthy and peaceable Mr. Sylvester (the great intimate of Mr. Baxter) did not scruple, as I since find, in his preface to some old sermons, on *Heb. 12.* Vol. I.) to express himself thus: *I have sometimes thought (when I read the four Evangelists) that Christ was apprehensive that men, in and by their pretended love to him, would quite forget his Father, and terminate their honour and affections in the Son; which Christ appears solicitous to prevent, John ch. xiv. 15, 16, 17. And this I could copiously demonstrate, could I forget the limits of a preface.* And

by the way let me add, what for a long time I was grieved at: I know no people more chargeable with this evil, which Christ Jesus is here said to have been afraid of, than one sort of the Dissenters, who so constantly exalt the Son above his God and Father, in the business of our Redemption; wherein they represent him so much more good and amiable than the great God, who is Love itself.

And whereas the Dublin ministers presumed, that no pastors of any reformed churches would have acted otherwise in my case; they may easily see their mistake: how many clergy of the reformed church of England, have given us full evidence of their like sentiments, who have not been cast off, nor their communion disowned by their brethren nor fathers? And the archbishop of Dublin himself would not refuse to communicate

Dr. King.

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cate * at the church of one of them, when he was here, I mean at Dr. Clarke's at St. James's.

Nor yet have the Dissenting Ministers here, notwithstanding the attempts of some fiery and narrow spirits among them, made such inquiry into their brethrens thoughts, upon as full grounds of suspicion as I had given. I know some of them have not liked the *Dublin* zeal or conduct so well as to have it imitated.

And more than this, I can tell them, that the holy primitive Christians in *Justin Martyr's* days would not have done so; as appears in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, where he owns, that such *Jewish Christians who professed Jesus to be Christ*, (viz. the *Ebionites*, as I take it, whom he numbers among such as confess Christ a little after) ought to be embraced as brethren, and treated as such——And those who did not believe Jesus Christ to be more than a Man born of human parents, viz. *Joseph and Mary*, (denying both his pre-existence, and his conception by the *Holy Ghost*) he freely declares to be of the same society and body with them who thought otherwise; only he would not have them impose the *Jewish* observances on, nor shun conversing with, other Christians. A much less degree of charity would serve to make us embrace those as brethren, who entertain far more high and honourable thoughts of the only-begotten Son of God, our Lord and Saviour; whom having not seen, they love and serve.

The plain truth is, if Christians would believe with an *holy religious faith*, and be content with a religious, rather than a *philosophical creed*, Christianity would better be preserved; for what is it but a *scholastic philosophical faith*, that runs upon metaphysical notions of *Essence and Persons*,

F. 2

* He once attended for that purpose, who as it happened, there was no communion at that time.

Persons, and Emanations and Consubstantiality, and the methods of divine decrees, and God's physical operations and concurrence, &c? The holy Christian faith regards God in a religious sense, not so much in his infinity, immensity, spirituality, and other natural and absolute excellencies, as in his relative excellencies and moral perfections, viz. as our Maker, our Owner, our Ruler, Disposer, Judge, Benefactor, and chief Good: and it regards Jesus Christ as our sufficient Mediator, by whose intervention we are brought into God's favour, and are taught his will. And as he is a good believer in God, who reveres his Majesty, is moulded into his will, loves and trusts in *Him*, and makes him the centre of his delightful rest, and satisfying joy; so is he a good believer in *Jesus Christ*, who owns him as his Lord; who receives and obeys his laws, credits his threats and promises, and confides in his mediation and intercession; without subtle philosophizing upon his nature and generation, or without forensic political disquisitions, and logical quibbles about *justification*. What if all Christians have not the same abstracted speculations of God and Christ, (for all have not the same knowledge) is it therefore not the same God, and the same Lord? Yes, doubtless; if the Jews believed in Jesus Christ when on earth, though they believed not his miraculous conception, would any say it was not the same Christ that other disciples believed in? surely it was enough, that Jesus was *He*; whatever different notions they had about his origin: and 'tis the same if an honest Christian believes him sufficient to bring him to salvation, without being able to give a *philosophical* or critical account how he has this sufficiency; so that here will still be *one God, and one Lord, both theirs and ours*, by which

John 8.24.

which Christians may unite and agree in the doctrine which is *according to godliness*. And so *Constantine* the Emperor seems to have meant, when he advised *Alexander* and *Arius* not to break communion for such things, comparatively small, since consistent with the principal design of religion, if not too nicely debated and imposed.

Euseb.
Life of
Constant,
l. 2. c. 71.

And thus 'tis in other points relating to Almighty God. The holy Scriptures require no accurate philosophical notions of God's *eternity*, *omnipresence*, *immensity*, &c. they are content to give us only popular easy accounts of these matters, viz. that God was *before the earth was formed*; and that *he fills heaven and earth with his presence*, that he sees all things, and can exert his power every where: which are far from being *accurate notions* of eternity and immensity. They trouble not men with the niceties of *eternal successions*, or an eternal *τὸ πᾶν* without succession, or with *infinite spaces*, or of God's being present in *part*, or in *whole*, and the like *metaphysical* difficulties. No, if these things offer themselves to natural light in men of capacity and fine speculation, and they can fancy they have accurate notions about them, it is well and good; let them enjoy their own acquisitions; but this is not owing to *Christianity*, but *Philosophy*; and so is not incumbent on every good Christian, nor required as matter of a *virtuous religious* belief: our religion imposes no such difficulties on us of *believing* with the understanding, what we cannot so much as *perceive* by it; it only requires us to believe what it reveals to us, i. e. to our understanding and apprehension. Let the *wise men*, let the *Scribes*, let the *disputers of this world*, busy and tire themselves as much as they please in such disquisitions; the Christian is happy enough in the easy popular

popular notions of such divine perfections, when so powerfully received, as to form *his mind* into an holy admiration, reverence, and love of God; and his *life* to a serious obedient conformity to his will and laws. Let who will damn or reject him for not *understanding* their long critical philosophical creeds, their *modes* and *subsistencies*, or *personalities*; or for not *professing* them, *without understanding*; the christian religion threatens him with no harm from God himself.

And men must not think, that like other arbitrary societies they may appoint what *terms of union* and communion they please in the churches; and then cry, They who like them not, may go elsewhere; and that their ministers, when they no longer fancy them, shall be cast off at will and humour, for different sentiments about *unscriptural* words or notions: for a *Christian* church has its terms and laws settled by *Christ*; it is *his* church, and the table is the *Lord's Table*, and the ministers are *Christ's* ministers; and it is the highest usurpation in us to make inclosures, when he has left it open; and to turn out *members*, or *pastors* from their office, if they walk and act according to the design of their Christian station: and men had need be sure, that the denying their *unscriptural* tests and *Spibboleths* is such a crime as will justify these proceedings; otherwise, though it may signify little what has been done to me, the unworthiest of many; yet, in general, he whose *name* was in the book of life, Phil. 4. 3. has told us, & *μαρτυρία*, &c. 'Tis no small sin, to turn out from their office those, who have unblameably attended their ministry.

Clem. Ep.
s. 44.

I know very well that men of an uncharitable complexion think they may justify their severity and bitter zeal, from the Apostle's counsel, to
reject

reject and avoid Heretics; but they would do well to consider seriously these few things, lest they abuse and pervert this counsel.

S E C T. V.

The great danger of rashness in censuring others, as Heretics.

IT ought to be considered, 1. Whether all such heresies were not attended with immoral doctrines or practices, in a plain and uncontested opposition to the Apostle's doctrine? And therefore those heresies are *works of the flesh*; vicious, and immoral, and wilful acts, as *drunkenness, adultery*, Gal. 5. 19, &c. And the Heretics were *self-condemned*, without the decision of a synod: accordingly one may see their foul characters, in 2 Pet. 2. and St. Jude's Epist. This made Augustine say, *Hereticus esse nolo*; because he could answer for his will*: but when serious convictions and real strugglings of conscience force a man to own doctrines which he takes to be the truths of Christ, against all the interests of the flesh, and his worldly comfort, which he had rather lose than offend God; how is it possible, if this man should be mistaken, that yet he should be such a Heretic? *Nunquam errari tutius existimo, quam cum in nimio amore veritatis erratur.* It is his great love of truth that makes him err, and such error cannot be dangerous. *And certain it is, that he who after a pious attentive consideration falls into error, is more worthy, if not of praise, yet of pardon, than he that blindly assents to truth itself;* says Bp. Rust.

Aug. de Mendacio.

Of reason in matters of religion.

F 4

2. Whether,

* See Hales of Eaton in his tract of schism: *Heresy*, says he, is an act of the will, not of reason; and is indeed a lie, not a mistake.

2. Whether, in the *ecclesiastical* sense of the word *Heresy* (as noting a *fundamental error* about the christian faith) any, in the truly primitive church, were accounted *Heretics*, who received the primitive *ancient creed*, before any council presumed to frame *new ones*? This was wont to be the sufficient *test* of Christianity and church-communion, which I willingly assent to in its plain and fair sense. No subtle intricate interpretations were then obtruded as necessarily to be received: and indeed all sides tell us, when they please, that the *fundamentals of Christianity* are *plain and easy* to be seen; and make this the great commendation of our religion: but where should they be plain, if not in the *Creed*? The express words of Bishop *Davenant*, so venerable and judicious in the sense of all parties, cited by Mr. *Howe* in his sermon of *union among Protestants*, are thus; *He that believes the things contained in the Apostles creed, and endeavours to live a life agreeable to the precepts of Christ, ought not to be expunged from the roll of Christians, nor be driven from communion with the members of any church whatever.*

3. Whether, at least, it be not extremely difficult for any to know (if bare speculative error must be *Heresy*) what is *Heresy*; and who are *Heretics* now in these distant distracted ages, when Christians are so perplexed and divided in their interpretations and explications of many articles? In the Apostles times, it was easy to know certainly who were in the wrong, by their open Opposition to them whom all the churches allowed to be right, and to be the infallible directors of their faith, and who contradicted such errors: but now each party appeals to *their* writings, and thinks it embraces their true meaning. But bishops and councils are not Christ
and

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and his Apostles. Here let me use the late Dr. Sherlock's words against the Papists, for in controversy with them one may hear what they'll not tell us in disputing against others: *While no-thing, says he, was heresy, but the denial of a plain acknowledged article of the christian faith, and there was no dispute, who were Heretics, the power of deposing Heretics was sacred and venerable, and had its just authority and effects; but since the controversy is what is Heresy, and the world is divided about it, (What if he had said so of Schism too?) tho the power remains, yet the exercise of it becomes contemptible, when a church first coins new articles of faith, and then censures and deposes them for Heretics who do not believe them. It is not the same thing to reject the sacred text, and to mistake its sense. St. Aug. says something to the same purpose; That * it could hardly, if at all, be determined what made one a Heretic. And surely it can as little be determined now, by a wise man, tho fools are hasty. And therefore what he said elsewhere is very rational, and worth considering by those who are fierce and rash in their charge of Heresy, *Serviant illi, &c. Let them be fierce and cruel who know not how easy it is to err.**

Sherl. Vindict. of Protest. princip. about Chu. Govern. p. 31.

If such things were duly considered by hasty zealots, they would not be so prodigal of their anathemas; but would find the matter of Heresy among conscientious Christians so very hard, and the precepts of love, peace, meekness and forbearance towards them who differ, so very easy, and plain to be discerned, that if an ill temper did not bias them more to what is cruel, and unkind, one would think none could be so bad a casuist, as not to determine on the plainest and most

* Quid vero faciat Hæreticum, regulari quadam definitione comprehendendi aut omnino non potest, aut difficulter potest. *Præfat. de Hæresibus.*

most pleasant side of the question; and so let brotherly love still continue: at least it would make any good-natur'd man speak with *Salvian, Errant, sed bono animo errant; apud nos haeretici sunt, apud se non sunt, &c.* i. e. They don't think themselves Heretics; tho we do; they err, but 'tis with an honest mind; and how it will go with them at the great day, none but the Judge himself can tell. This is more christian, and becoming a modest sense of our darkness and difficulties, than to pronounce honest-minded men odious to God, and to render them odious to ignorant men, by charging them with, and anathematizing them for damnable heresies; and that usually by rote as we have been taught, without knowing what, or how to answer what they have to say for themselves, and which perhaps we are afraid should be known to others.

But if, like *Pharaoh's kine*, the lean must devour the fat; if zeal must out-go knowledge; if a pretended knowledge of all mysteries, and all faith, be valued above Charity; if the warm Dissenters of London, or their brethren in the West, shall think fit to erect an inquisition to extort unwilling confessions, or to fix a test of orthodoxy in this point, by which to try their ministers, or candidates; it is expected they will do it effectually, I mean, so as to purge themselves from *Tritheism*, as much as from what is called *Arianism*: but this I believe, they can never agree to do; For I am well assured, there are among them who, with the late Mr. *Howe*, (which yet gave them no such disturbance) hold *Father, Son and Spirit* to be three infinite Minds, each and all of them supreme God; which Mr. *Boyse* was so wise as to say nothing to, when I had urged it in my *Humble Inquiry*, and would not transcribe it into his answer.

These

These agree with their other brethren in this, That *Father, Son and Spirit* are *Three Persons*; and that *one* only was *incarnate*, and not the other *two*: and if they must not suppose one of the *Three* to be *inferior* to another, then they judge they must be *co-ordinate* and equal Beings. And this they say makes *delicious Society* in the *Deity*, and on that account becomes necessary. But at this (which carries such reproach against the infinite fulness of the ever-blessed God, and is so like to the *Pagan polytheism*) the others start back, and leave them; being convinced that there is but *one* infinite God, who is a *Spirit*: and then they unsay all again, and *Father, Son and Spirit* are no longer *three Persons*, in the proper and usual sense, and such as they had proved them to be, but rather *modes* and *properties*. But since this will not do for the incarnation, (for a *mode* is not a divine nature, and the one divine nature, if but one among the three, must have all three *modes*) they become good *Trinitarians* again with the former, when they come to the *incarnation*; but are *Sabellians*, when they are upon the *Unity of God*; which, abating the use of some harsh terms, is the same with *Socinians*, who can easily allow the *Trinity* of one *single mind*. Thus they are in distracted confusion: now if they have the wisdom from above, they will act *without partiality*, and *without hypocrisy*, and so will take care to set their zeal against these *tritheistic* errors; for they cannot, for shame, say, that to hold one *supreme God*, and another *subordinate Lord*, is, according to them, so great an error, as to hold *three co-ordinate Gods*, tho' called *one God*. Let them deal honestly, if they are not treacherous defenders of the divine *Unity*, and too willing to part with it, as seems by their silence, and their charity in this point, when yet

in a flame against the maintainers of the subordination in the blessed Trinity.

And on the other hand, they who are convinced, the Scripture-Trinity of *Father, Son, and Spirit*, are three real *persons* or minds, (if they do think the errors of others ought to be discouraged by censures and tests, &c.) ought in conscience to be as severe against their *Sabellian* brethren, who hold the *τὸ ὁμοῦσιον*, in that sense in which the *council of Antioch* took it, and condemned it; and who do indeed destroy, in their opinion, all existence of the *Son of God*, before his conception in the *Virgin Mary*, and leave only a mode, or abstracted notion in the room of him. If they please to shew their *own* weaknesses, and *dissensions*, this way, they are at liberty; but I believe the consequences will teach them, that it had been better to *cover them* by charity and mutual forbearance; which, I hope, is the advice that some of *cooler heads* will give, and that the rest will not be so hot, as not to follow it: else they will be look'd on as void of due modesty, if they make outcries of impositions and human inventions, against the establish'd church, while so full of them *themselves*.

I am no enemy to *their body* in general, nor to any one man of them in particular; nor have I published *this* till I thought their ease and liberty secured; that none might think I desired any obstruction to his Majesty's favourable intentions towards them, or to *render them evil for evil*: for I always wish them their liberty, but that they should not uncharitably treat others, who can as readily, as they, assent to God's *mysteries*, but not so readily to those of mens making. I blame no man's pious zeal that can say with *David*, *The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up*; but I blame that devouring zeal which is for eating up others:

Appendix to the Narrative.

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others : and shall conclude it to be a certain *maxim*, that they who are forward to impose, will be as forward to persecute ; for such have usually too much pride to bear contradiction with any patience. And they who are so busy with their *negative discouragements* already, by withdrawing their wonted relief, are, I doubt, no further off from the use of the *positive*, and more terrible ones, than they are from having sufficient power in their hands to do it.

But after all, that men who *dissent on principles of conscience and liberty*, and find so much indulgence from an establish'd church, should yet domineer, and impose on their brethren with such imperious cruel severity ; and even threaten them too with the execution of those laws, against which themselves once made such loud and uneasy complaints, and which they are scarcely got from under the terror of, is strangely absurd and disingenuous. *O thou wicked servant, I for-* Mat. 18.
gave thee all, because thou desiredst me : shouldst 32, 33.
not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow-
servant ?



Adver-

Advertisement.

THE usual way of proving the Three Persons to be the one most high God, is, not by shewing the Son and Holy Spirit to be unoriginate, independent, absolutely supreme, &c. as the Father is, and the true God must needs be; but by catching at the equivocal term or word God. And thus they argue:

1. That each of the Three Persons is call'd God, (this is granted of Two, but for the Third, better proof is desired than Acts 3. 4.)

2. That there is but one God, (which, in the most perfect and high sense is granted, but in another very common sense of the term, there are Gods many, according to St. Paul.)

3. That therefore these Three are that same One God; which will not be a good consequence, unless the Three be called God in the same high and exalted sense in which there is but One God alone, i. e. One independent and absolutely supreme Being. Else one person may be God, and another be God, and yet not the same God; altho there be, in the noblest sense of that word, but one God. In short, since there is a sense

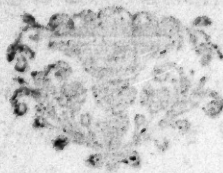
in which there are Gods many, and a sense of the word God, in which God is but One; the question will be, Whether, in that sense in which God is said to be but One, any but the Father be said in Scripture to be God, 1 Cor. 8. 6. tho in some sense the Son may be called so too?

So for the term Lord, there is a sense in which there is but one Lord; Mark 12. 29. Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. And yet the Father and Christ are said presently to be two Lords, Ver. 36. For the Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand. Now if the God of Israel be but one single Lord, and the Father and Son make two Lords, or a Lord and a Lord; Quære, Whether shall we say, that these Two Lords be both of them that true God of Israel, who, as Christ says, is but One Lord; or that only One of these Two Lords is the Lord God of Israel, since he was but One Lord, and not Two Lords: Or shall we yet dare to say, that a Lord speaking and a Lord spoken to, are not two Lords, but one Lord —after the Athanasian Creed?



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the Aristotelian Creed?



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An Humble

INQUIRY

INTO THE

SCRIPTURE-ACCOUNT

O F

JESUS CHRIST:

OR,

A short Argument concerning his
Deity and Glory, according to the
GOSPEL.

i Cor. viii. 5. *To us there is but One God, viz.*
the Father, of whom are all things; and one
Lord, viz. Jesus Christ, through whom are all
things.

Augus. cont. Maxim. l. 3. c. 14.

Nec ego Nicænam Synodum. tibi, nec tu Ariminensem mihi,
debés objicere. Scripturarum Authoritatibus, &c.

Thou shalt not urge me with the Council of Ariminum, nor I thee
with the Council of Nice; but let us decide the Cause by
Scripture-Authority.

1702.

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A short Argument, concerning the Deity of our LORD JESUS CHRIST.

CHAP. I.

I. *That the term God is used in Scripture in different senses, supreme and subordinate. II. That our Lord Jesus speaks of another as God, distinct from himself, and owns this God to be above or over him.*

THAT the blessed Jesus has the title of *God* ascribed sometimes to him in the holy Scriptures, is not denied by *Arians* or *Socinians*; but it remains to be examin'd in what sense that character, as given to him, is intended. Nor is this an unreasonable or needless inquiry, since it is beyond all reasonable denial, that the title of *God* is given in very different senses in the Scripture.

1. Sometimes it signifies the *most High*, Perfect and Infinite Being, who is of himself alone, and owes neither his being nor authority, nor any thing to another: and this is what is most commonly intended, when we speak of *God* in ordinary

nary discourse, and in prayer and praise; we mean it of God in the most eminent sense.

2. At other times it has a *lower* sense, and is made the character of persons who are invested with *subordinate* authority and power from that supreme being. Thus *Angels* are styled Gods, *Psal.* 8. 5. *Thou hast made him a little lower than the Gods*, as 'tis in the margin: So magistrates are Gods, *Exod.* 22. 28. *Psal.* 82. 1. *John* 10. 34, 35. And sometimes in the singular number, one person is styled God; as *Moses* is twice so called, a *God* to *Aaron*, and afterwards a *God* to *Pharaoh*: and thus the devil is called the *God* of this world, *i. e.* the prince and mighty ruler of it; tho' by unjust usurpation, and God's permission. Now as he who alone is God, in the former sense, is infinitely above all these; so we find him distinguish'd from all others who are called God; by this character, *viz.* a *God of Gods*, or the chief of all Gods, with whom none of those Gods may be compared. So *Philo* describes him, to be not only the *God of men*, but the *God of Gods* also. This is the highest and most glorious epithet given him in the Old Testament, when it is design'd to make a most magnificent mention of his peerless greatness and glory. Equivalent to this, I take that title to be, which is so much used in the New Testament, *viz.* *the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the God of our Lord Jesus, the Father of glory*. For since Jesus Christ is the chief of all subordinate powers, *the Prince of the kings of the earth*, and far above the greatest angels; *the Lord of Lords, and King of kings*: he who is styled *the God of our Lord Jesus Christ*, is therein, in effect, styled *the God of Gods*, or above all Gods.

Now the question to be resolved is, in which of these two senses Christ is said to be God in the

the holy Scriptures? The bare character of God determines nothing in this case, because it belongs both to the *supreme* and to *subordinate* beings in power and authority: but the question is, whether Jesus Christ be *the God of Gods*, or above all Gods?

He is indeed the *Lord of Lords*; but that notes an inferior character, compared with that of *God of Gods*, as appears by 1 Cor. 8. 5. tho it be included in the superior; so that he who is above all Gods, is also over all Lords, but not contrariwise *. In short, has Jesus Christ any God over him, who has greater authority, and greater ability than himself, or not? This will decide the matter; for if he have a God above him, then is he not the *absolutely supreme God*, tho in relation to created beings, he may be a God (or Ruler) over all †.

Nor can we more clearly demonstrate this Sect. II. point, than by shewing, *First*, That Jesus Christ expressly speaks of *another God* than himself. *Secondly*, That he owns this God to be *above or over himself*. And *Lastly*, That he wants those supereminent and infinite perfections, which belong

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* To this purpose are the words of that eminent philosopher Sir Isaac Newton in his *Optics*, p. 314, 315. *Lat. Edit.* The word *Deity* imports exercise of *dominion* over subordinate beings, and tho the word *God* most frequently signifies *Lord*, yet every *Lord is not a God*. The exercise of dominion in a *spiritual being* constitutes a *God*; if that dominion be *real*, that being is a *real God*; if it be *fictitious*, a *false God*; if it be *supreme*, the *supreme God*; he might have added, if *subordinate*, a *subordinate God*.

† Is not he alone *the one God*, who knows no superior, no cause of his existence, whom the *Son* himself teaches us to esteem *the only true God*, and confesses to be *greater than himself*, even *his God*? *Euseb. de Eccles. Theol.* l. 1. c. 11. See also *Irenaeus*, l. 3. c. 18. who frequently distinguishes the Father by this character, *The God over whom there is no other God*.

only to the Lord God of Gods. Of these I shall treat in a manner suited to vulgar capacities; for I judge it very unfit to speak or write of important articles (which the common people must believe, and must so far understand) in such a manner as leaves them wholly unintelligible.

1. *First*, Our Lord Jesus Christ expressly speaks of *another* God distinct from himself; several times we find him saying, *My God, of another*; *Mat. 27. 46. My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* So *John 20. 17.* sure he intended not to say, *Myself, Myself, why hast thou forsaken me?* This God then was distinct from himself, as he declares in other places: *He shall know my Doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself.* So *John 8. 42.* where 'tis to be noted that he does not distinguish himself from him, as the *Father*, but as *God*; and therefore, in all just construction, he cannot be supposed to be that self-same God, from whom he distinguishes, and to whom he opposeth himself. How manifestly are the *one God* and the *one Lord* distinguished, *1 Cor. 8. 6?* And that there may be no just pretence to say with *Placæus*, that the *God* and the *Lord*, or the cause of which all things are, and the cause by or through which they are, are but two things said of the same one God; we may see them more clearly distinguished, *Eph. 4. 5, 6.* where by the interposing other things between the one Lord, and one God, viz. *one faith, one baptism*, it appears evidently that these were not intended as two characters of the same being. I think that none who impartially attends to the Scripture-History, can doubt whether God, and his Christ, are not two distinct beings.

2. *Secondly*, Our Lord Jesus owns, not only another than himself to be God; but also that he

above or over himself, which is plainly intimated also by his Apostles. Himself loudly proclaims his subjection to the Father in many instances; John 14. in general he declares his *Father to be greater than he*: he says, he came not in his own, but in his *Father's* name or authority; that he sought not his own, but *God's* glory, nor made his own will, but *God's*, his rule; and in such a posture of subjection *he came down from heaven* into this earth: so that it should seem, that nature which did pre-exist, did not possess the supreme will, even before it was incarnate. Again, he owns his dependence upon his God and Father, even from those things which it is pretended belong to him as God, viz. the power of working miracles, of raising the dead, of executing universal judgment; of all which he says, *Of my own self I can do nothing*. In like manner his Apostles declare his subjection to another, not only as his Father, but as his God; which is emphatically expressed, in calling the most blessed God, *the God of our Lord Jesus*, after his humiliation was over, Eph. 1. 17. and the *head of Christ is God*, 1 Cor. 11. 3. They declare his headship over the universe, and the very foundations of his claim to honour and service, to be owing to the gracious gift of God, *ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ*; and yet these are some of the highest glories of Jesus Christ. Phil. 2. 9.

Let me only add under this head that great text, so full of irresistible evidence for proving an inferiority in the Son to his Father, or to God, 1 Cor. 15. from ver. 24, to 29. where the Apostle says several things to this purpose.

1. That all things are to be put under Christ's feet; all enemies and powers are to be subdued to him: but adds, that 'tis manifest God must be excepted out of these things that are under him;

and that for this reason, because 'tis *he who did put all under him*. And how comes it to pass, that it is so evident a thing, that *another* must be supposed to be the great author of this triumph of Christ? Why might it not be done by *himself* independently, if the supreme God? and then there need have been no exception of any *one Being* out of the all things under him. But the Apostle knew that Jesus Christ must needs triumph by a power derived from God, to whom it was most eminently to be ascribed; and then to one who had such thoughts, it was manifest that there must be one excepted from the all things under him, because he must needs be above Christ, who enables him to subdue all things, or *makes him a God over all*.

Matth. 28.

18.

Psal. 110.

1 and 2.

Ephes. 1.

22.

Heb. 2. 8.

2. The Son shall *deliver up his kingdom to God, even the Father*, that is, not to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as some pretend, but to the *Father only*; since it was the *Father who gave him all power in heaven and earth*, and who made him *King in Zion*: Into his hands he will make a surrender of all, in testimony of his having done all in a subordination to him; and having acted and ruled in a dependence on him, who shall have a satisfactory account of all given to him in the end. This is a glory peculiar to the Father as supreme.

3. *Then the Son himself shall be subject to him that put all things under him*, i. e. to God his Father, that *God may be all in all*; that is, his subjection shall be then manifested by an open solemn acknowledgment of it, when he shall recognize the supremacy of the Father in that public act of surrender: so that tho formerly (*in the present state*) all judgement and rule was committed to the Son; yet then it shall be otherwise, and God will more immediately appear in the government

of the future state, which shall not be so much shared, probably between him and the Redeemer, as the present administration appears to be. This then will be the issue of all our disputes; *God all in all*, and the *Son himself subject under him*. Can any thing be more expressive of an inequality between God and Christ?

But it will be said by some, That by the *Son* here is meant the Son of Man, or Christ as *Man*; while as *God*, he shall not be subjected to the Father.

Resp. As there is no intimation of any such distinction between the pretended *two* natures of the Son here; so there is enough in the words to shew, that they are spoken of him, under his highest capacity and character; insomuch, that Monsieur *Claude* maintains it to be true of the Son of God, as to his (supposed) divine nature. But tho there is no need of supposing such a *nature* (which I think the text plainly contradicts) yet his reasons will hold so far, as to prove the words do speak of Christ, under the highest character he bears, by the name of Son: for, *First*, as he says, 'tis not said the *Son of Man*, but *the Son* absolutely, which he thinks in the Scripture-use is wont to mean more than the Son of man; and undoubtedly it imports all that comes under that title: Nay more, 'tis said, *even the Son himself*, with great emphasis; *q. d.* as great and glorious as he is with all his grandeur and power, he *himself* shall be subject. *Secondly*. His subjection being opposed to his reign, both must be understood of the same subject; be sure the delivering up the kingdom can only be done by the same to which it was committed, and by which it was managed. Now I shall allow, that only in his human nature, Christ could give up his kingdom; but then 'tis because 'tis as man delegated

delegated, and inhabited by God, that he sways and manages this kingdom; and if this be allowed (as I think it needs must) that the Man Christ is sufficient, by help from God, to manage his universal spiritual kingdom, I see no reason there will be to oppose those *Unitarians*, who think him to be a sufficient Saviour and Prince, tho he be not the only supreme God: nor can any, with reason, attempt to prove him to be such, from his works and office as king of his church, since 'tis implied, that as such he must do homage to God the Father, in *delivering up his kingdom to him*. And this very expression, *to God the Father*, makes it plain, that there is no God the Son in the same sense, or in the same supreme essence with the Father; because if there were, then he ought not to be excluded from his glory of having such open homage paid to him, which is here appropriated to the Father only. And since the Apostle speaks of the same God (whom he explains to be *the Father*) to the end of this discourse, and says he shall be *all in all*; how evidently does he shew him to be far beyond all that are *not* God the Father, whatever character else they bear? So then, Jesus Christ, in his highest capacity, being inferior to the Father; how can he be the same God, to which he is subject, or of the same rank and dignity?

Thus it appears that Christ is *so* God, as to be under a *superior* God, who has set him over all: And suitable to this is that account which the Scripture gives us of the Godhead of the blessed Jesus, *viz.* because he is invested with a God-like authority and power from the supreme God his Father. Thus when he was accused by the captious *Jews*, for assuming the character of the Son of God (which they perversly would stretch, as tho it implied an equality with God)

he explains in what sense only he justified it, viz. as one whom the Father had sanctified, i. e. called to a greater office, and honoured with a higher commission than those magistrates, on whom the Scripture so freely bestows the title of Gods. So when he is called God, 'tis explained in what Heb. 1. 8, sense, or of what sort of God. 'Tis to be understood, by saying, that *his* God (intimating that he had a God over him) had *anointed him with oil*, &c. that is, had invested him with royal power and dignity (as kings were installed in their office, by anointing with oil, among the Jews) which is an explication of his Godhead or dominion. And this is said to be *above his Fellows*, not sure above the Father and Holy Spirit, (which only are pretended to be *his Fellows*, as God, by them who understand it of the supreme Godhead) but above all other subordinate Powers. This is one plain scripture-account of his being called God, for these things are spoken to him, and of him, under the character of God; *O God, thy throne*, &c. I think men should be well assured on what grounds they go, before they assign other reasons of this character, so different from the Scripture-account: let it suffice us, that God hath *made him both Lord and Christ*; that he has *exalted him to be a Prince and Saviour*. Acts 2. 36, Ch. 5. 31.

However, our adversaries will gain nothing by alledging texts to prove the title of God to be given to Christ, since that may be; and yet it will not prove him to be *the supreme independent God*, but only one who is inhabited and commissioned and enabled by him who is so. As to that place, which is corruptly rendred in our translation, *he thought it no robbery to be equal with God*; it is confessed by our adversaries themselves, that it should be read thus, viz.

viz. that he did not *assume*, or arrogate, or snatch at an equality with God, or covet to appear in the *likeness* of God *: the words are never known to be used in any other sense, as is shewn by Dr. Tillotson in his discourses against the So-

Dr. Bennet
New Theo-
ry, cap 7.
Dr. Mar-
shal's Ser-
mon on this
text.

cinians; also by Dr. Whitby in his exposition on that place; and others. So that this rather denies than asserts Christ's equality to God, tho he was in the *form* of God, as that notes the outward *resemblance* of him in his mighty power and works, &c. which is the constant meaning of the word *form* in the New Testament.

But because some think such perfections are in Scripture ascribed to Christ, as will prove him to be God in the highest sense, I proceed to shew in the next place,

3. That our blessed Lord Jesus disclaims those infinite perfections which belong only to the *supreme God of Gods*. And 'tis most certain, that if he want one, or any of these perfections that are essential to the Deity, he is not God in the chief sense; and if we find him disclaiming the *one*, he cannot challenge the *other*; for to deny himself to have all divine perfections, or to deny himself to be the infinite God, is the same thing.

C H A P.

* One reason, why I think, what we render, *to be equal with God*, may be translated *to be like to God*, is, that the word ἵσος admits degrees of comparison, ἰσότης, ἰσότητος. Now a strict arithmetical equality consists in an exact point; and no things can be more or less *equal*, than what exactly are so: but things may be more or less *alike*; and therefore tho things that be alike, may be equal, yet they are not hereby proved, or expressed to be so. See Dr. Whitby in locum, who instances in several places, where the word ἵσος is so used. T. E.

C H A P. II.

I. That our Lord Jesus disclaims those infinite perfections which belong only to the supreme God. 1. Underived power. 2. Absolute goodness. 3. Unlimited knowledge. II. The weakness and absurdity of the common evasion from the pretended distinction of two natures.

I. **O**NE great and peculiar perfection of the Deity is *absolute, underived omnipotence*: He who cannot work all miracles, and do whatever he list of *himself*, without help from *another*, can never be the supreme Being, or God; because he appears to be a defective Being, comparatively, since he needs help, and can receive additional strength from another than himself. SECT. I.

Now it is most evident, that our Lord Jesus (whatever power he had) confesses again and again, that he had not infinite power of himself; *Of myself I can do nothing*. He had been speaking of great miracles, viz. raising the dead, and executing all judgment; but all along takes care, men should know that his *sufficiency* for these things was of God the Father. In the beginning of the discourse, he says, *The Son can do nothing but what he sees the Father do*: so in the middle, *The Father has given to the Son to have life in himself*: and as if he could never too much inculcate this great truth, he adds towards the conclusion, *I can do nothing of myself, αὐτῷ ἐμαυτῷ*; or, from nothing that is my *self* do I draw this power and authority. Sure this is not the *voice* of God, but of a man! for the most High can receive from none; he cannot be made more mighty John 5. 30.

Ver. 19.

V. 26, 27.

Rom. 11.
35.

mighty or wise, &c. because to absolute perfection can be no addition. And since power in God is an essential perfection; it follows, that if it be derived, then so is the Essence or Being itself: which is blasphemy against the most High, for 'tis to *angod* him; to number him among dependent derivative beings; whilst the supreme God *indeed* is only he who is the *first Cause*, and absolute original of all.

Nay further, our Lord considers himself here in opposition to his *Father*; who, he says, gave him all power: now if he had such an *eternal* divine *Word*, united more nearly to him than the *Father*; surely he would have owned his power to be from that *Word* or divine *Son*.

John 14.
10.

How comes he to ascribe nothing to that, since 'tis supposed to be equal in power to the Father himself, and more nearly allied to Jesus Christ, as the operating principle in him? *My Father in me does the works*; by which, 'tis evident there was no divine agent in and with him, but the Father; He only has all power of himself, and needs no assistance.

2. Another infinite perfection, that must needs be in the Deity, is supreme *absolute goodness*: *All nations* have consented to this by the light of nature; that *T' dyadon*, and *optimus maximus*, are the prime characters of the *Supreme*: as the orator says, he is one, *quo nec melius, nec majus concipi potest*; the fullest, and highest of all that are called *Good*; for indeed all other good is derived from Him.

Mat. 19.
17.
Iren. lib. 1.
c. 20.
Orig. Com.
in locum.

Now the Lord Jesus expressly disclaims this character: *Jesus said to him, Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is God*; where 'tis most evident that he distinguishes himself from God, as not the *same* with Him, and denies of himself what he affirms of God: and as to that

that divine perfection of supreme infinite *goodness*, he challenges the man for presuming to say what seemed to attribute it to him, and leads him off to another, who and who *only* was more eminently so.

'Tis astonishing to see what violence is offered to the sacred text, by such as maintain the equality of Jesus Christ to God his Father: What a strange fetch is it, to suppose our Lord's meaning to be this? *q. d. I know, man, thou dost not take me for God, as I am; Why then dost thou give me the title belonging to him only?* when there is not one word in the context looking this way: for Christ never challenges the poor man with this, that he thought too *meanly* of him (as they suppose) but quite contrary, that he thought or spake too *highly* of him. And verily if the man's error lay in this, that he thought too *meanly* of Christ, whilst his words otherwise were justly enough apply'd to him; I cannot think our Lord would have rebuked him in that manner: for instead of keeping him still to the right object, and rectifying his apprehensions about it, which only were wrong, he seems clearly to carry him off to another from *himself*, as not the right object, without rectifying his thoughts of Christ at all; and to what end could Christ reprove him in such a way, as never tells him what was his fault, but rather tempts him to run into another, and leads him out of the way?

It shou'd seem rather (if any such notion had been then conceived by any) that the man did think him to be God: for if he thought him to be the *supreme good*, that was to make him God in his eye; and if he did not intend so much, but only meant it of an *inferior good*, how would Christ rebuke him for it, since that was no fault

or error? And truly they who say Christ's receiving *worship*, when on earth, proves his Deity, can hardly give an account why the man should give, or Christ receive *worship* from him, as he *did*, Mark 10. 17. if he did not take him for God. However, whatsoever the man thought, he says what Jesus Christ thought was only proper to be said of God, and too much to be said of himself, as the obvious sense of his words declares.

And let me add, that if our Lord Jesus had on purpose left the matter disguis'd, not willing to discover who he was then; yet 'tis strange that the Evangelists, who many years after relate the matter, when it was *necessary* to have it believed that Christ was supreme God (as it is pretended) that they, I say, should not unriddle the matter, by inserting some cautious clause, as that this he said to prove him, or because he knew he denied his Godhead, or the like: for sometimes on less occasions they enter such cautions, *John* 6. 6. ch. 21. 23. And yet tho *three* of the Evangelists relate this discourse, they all do it the same way, and not one of them says a tittle to direct us to this secret way of interpretation, but leaves us to the hazard of a most fatal mistake (even recommended to us by this history;) if Jesus Christ were indeed the supreme Good in as high a sense as God his *Father*, which he so apparently here denies, and by that denies himself to be the most high God.

3. I will only add one perfection more, *viz.* *absolute Omniscience*, or unlimited knowledge of all things, *past, present, and to come*, Ps. 147. *His understanding is infinite*. So *Isa.* 41. 23. *Known to God are all his works from the beginning.*

Now,

Now, 'tis plain our Lord Jesus Christ had not this infinite knowledge, particularly not of future things, such as the day of judgment. Mark 13. 32. says he, *Of that day knows no man, no, nor the Angels of heaven, nor the Son, but the Father only.* Here the Son professes his knowledge to be *limited*, and inferiour to the Father's, i. e. the Son of the Father, or Son of God; the Son as *above* angels in knowledge, the Son in the most *eminent* sense. Now how is it possible the Son can be God infinite, and yet have but a finite understanding? or can he be equal in knowledge to the Father, and yet not know as much as the Father? And be sure if he was not an infinite God, when on earth, he cannot be such afterwards. Thus we have seen Christ himself, with his own mouth *disclaiming* infinite original *power, goodness, and knowledge* to belong to him, but he attributes them to his Father *only*, as another, distinct from himself, from whom he derived of each in a dependent limited manner.

Irenæus.
Lib. 2.
c. 28.

What can be said against these plain arguments? I imagine our opposers have but one *shift* left for the evading them, and that is a distinction which serves them in all cases; for *they* say, Jesus Christ speaks these things of himself, as *man only*, while he had another nature as *God*, which he reserved, and excepted out of the case: So that when he says, *I cannot do thus myself, or I am not to be called the chief good, or do not know this, &c.* according to *them*, the meaning is, I have not these perfections in my *human nature*; but yet I know and can do all unassisted, and am the chief good in my *divine nature*, which also is more properly myself. The vanity of which

SECT. II.

subterfuge I intend now to lay open, by shewing how absurdly this distinction of the *two natures* is pretended, to take off the force of such expressions from Christ's own mouth, which in their natural and undisguised appearance do proclaim his inferiority to God, even the Father. And I shall dwell the more upon this, because 'tis the most popular and common evasion, and comes in at every turn, when all other relief fails.

It would be no unreasonable demand to ask, what intimation of any such *distinction of two natures* they can point us to, in any of these discourses of Christ? Why should men devise or imagine for him such a strange, and seemingly deceitful way of speaking from no ground, nor necessity, other than that of upholding their own precarious opinion? But I have several remarks to make upon this common answer.

1. That which in the *first* place I have to object against it is, That our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, if *himself* was the supreme God in any nature of his *own*, could not have said such things, as I conceive, in any consistency with truth and sincerity, (which he always maintained strictly) he could not say himself *could not do*, or *did not know* the thing, which all this while *himself could do*, and *did know* very well, as be sure if he was the supreme God, he could and did; for this were to make him say what is most false, and to *equivocate* in the most deceitful manner: for tho we should suppose he consisted of two infinitely distant natures, and so had two capacities of knowledge, &c. yet since *himself* includes them both, it follows, that the denying a thing of himself in absolute terms, without any limitation in the words or other obvious circumstances, does plainly imply a denial of its

its belonging to any part of his person, or any nature in it. For tho we may *affirm* a thing of a person which belongs *only* to a part of him; as I may properly say a man is wounded or hurt, tho it be only in one member; suppose an arm: yet I cannot justly *deny* a thing of him which belongs only to one part, because it belongs not to another; as I cannot say a man is not wounded, because tho one arm be shot or wounded, yet the other is whole.

For instance, I have two organs of sight, *two eyes*. Now suppose I converse with a man with one eye shut and the other open; if being asked whether I saw him, I should dare to say I saw him not (without any limitation) meaning to myself, that I saw him not with the eye which was shut, tho still I saw him well enough with the eye which was open; I fear I should bear the reproach of a liar and *deceiver*; notwithstanding such a mental reservation as some would attribute to the *Holy Jesus*. For knowledge is the *eye* of the person; Jesus Christ is supposed to have two of these knowing capacities; the *one* weak, the *other* strong and piercing, that discerns all things. Now as *such* Mat. 24. 3. an one, the disciples repair to him and ask him, when the end of the world and time of his coming shall be? He answers them, by giving them some general account of the matter, but says that the particular *day and hour* he knew not, nor did any know but the Father, meaning (say my opposers) that he knew it not with his *human* knowledge, tho he knew it well enough with his *divine*, at the same time that he said, *the Son knows it not*, absolutely and indefinitely.

And yet if Jesus Christ had a *divine* knowledge and nature, no doubt his disciples (who, if any body, must be supposed to believe it)

directed the question to that, rather than to the imperfect human capacity; and yet in answer to it he says, he *knew not the day*, which would not be counted sincerity or truth in men, much less was Jesus Christ in danger of it, in his mouth *no guile was*; let us not impute it to him.

That you may see this is fair reasoning, hear how some of the other side own it, when out of the heat of this controversy. See Dr. *Stillingsfleet's* sermon on *Mat. 10. 16.* speaking of the equivocations of Popish Priests, whose common answer, when examined about what they have known by confession, is, that they *know it not*, which they think to vindicate from the charge of lying by saying, that *in confession, the Priest knows matters as God, not as man, and therefore he denies to know them, meaning it as man.* But says the Doctor, this is absurd; because to say he does not know, is as much as to say he doth not *any way know*. Now if this be a good answer against the *Papists*, as no doubt it is; then sure 'tis so in the present case. Therefore when Christ says he knows not the day of judgment, 'tis as much as to say he does not *any way* know it, and consequently, 'tis a vain shift to say, it was as man only: we must beware lest we bring the holy Jesus under such a reproach for equivocation, as the Romish Priests lie under; and make the *Jesuits* themselves think they have a good title to that name, by imitating herein his example, which in this very instance they alledge with so great advantage, according to this interpretation.

2. As a farther evidence, that Jesus Christ intended no such distinction of two natures, as is pretended; 'tis to be observed, that he puts not the *distinction*, or opposition between the Son of
Man,

man, and the eternal word (as some speak) but between the *Son* and *his Father*: *Not the Son knows, but only the Father*; by which 'tis plain, he had no thought of including any person or nature of his own among the excepted: for whatever was not the *Father*, he says was ignorant of that day. Now 'tis certain, that in *no nature* was the *Son* the *Father*; and consequently where *none* but the *Father* knows, none who is *not* the *Father*, can be intended: and since our Lord was making an exception in the case, he would not have forgotten to except the eternal *Word* too, if there had been such a divine principle in himself, *equal* to the *Father* and distinct from him; for 'tis a known rule, that an exception from a general assertion, confirms it as to other instances not excepted. Mark 13. 32.

Will they say, that by the *Father* is meant all three persons here, *viz.* *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*? What! can the *Father* as opposed to the *Son*, be put for the *Father* and the *Son*? What woful work will this make with Scripture, to suppose that what are opposed to each other do include each other, under the very characters by which they are opposed? As well may they say that in the baptismal form, by the *Father* is meant, *Father*, *Son*, and *Spirit*, tho he be distinguished from the other two. And I should despair of ever understanding the Scriptures above all books that ever were written, at this rate of interpretation. No doubt therefore, but the *Father*, as opposed to the *Son*, excludes all that is the *Son*; and then there could be no *Son* of God that knew of that day which only the *Father* knew of, and consequently no *Son* that is God *equal* to the *Father*.

3. Moreover, That interpretation must needs be unjust, which, if admitted, will make all, even

the most plain speech, *uncertain*, and utterly insignificant; as this interpretation of Christ's words would do. For as I ask the patrons of this opinion, in what words Jesus Christ could *in brief* have denied himself to be God most high, if he had a mind to do it, more plain and full than these? in which he says, he knew not all things as the Father did, nor could do all things, &c. So I would fain have them shew me, what words of that nature he could have used, which the *same way* of interpretation, as they here use, will not *evade* and make insignificant. For had he said, or *sworn* in plain words thus, *viz. I tell you I am not the supreme God*, and none but my Father has that glory; they would upon the *same reason* still have said, this was to be understood of him as *man* only. So that no words professing himself *not* to be God, could be a proof of it, if this way of interpretation be allowed. I may therefore safely say thus much, that the blessed Jesus has declared himself *not* to be the supreme God, or equal to the *Father*, as plainly as words could speak, or in brief express; and that this declaration made by him already, is not to be evaded any *other way*, than what will make it impossible his mind should be understood by any words he could have designedly used in the matter. Let any one try if this do not hold true: and sure it must be an absurd way of interpretation, which leaves a man no opportunity or power of speaking his meaning *plainly*, so as to be understood.

4. Again, this way of interpretation, which the advocates of the opinion I oppose are so much necessitated to for upholding their cause, does plainly overthrow it again, and may be turned against themselves: for if it be just and true to deny of Christ absolutely what belongs

to him in one nature, because there is another nature in which it belongs not to him; then, since to be the chief God belongs to him (according to our adversaries) only in *one nature*, and not in respect of the other, or human nature, it follows that it may as justly be said Jesus Christ is not God, nor to be *worshipped* or trusted as such; nay, that he was not before the *Virgin Mary*, according to them, and the like; and this without adding any limitation or restriction, any more than our Lord does in the place mentioned.

What would they say to one who should speak or preach so, *That Jesus is not God*, that he cannot do all things, nor is equal to the Father, &c? Wou'd they not conclude he was a denier of the Deity of *Christ*, else he would never speak so unguardedly? Upon the same account, when Jesus Christ himself says, that he cannot of *himself* do all things, nor knows all things, and makes no reserves in his words, we may conclude he also *denies* his being supreme God; *else*, if it be a just way of speaking in him, it cannot be unjust in us to imitate him, by denying him indefinitely to be, what he in any one nature is not, *i. e.* that he is *not God*, without adding more.

Nay, after this way of speaking which they attribute to Christ, a man may be taught to say his creed *backward*, and yet make a true profession of his faith, by denying of Jesus Christ in absolute expressions, whatever may be denied of one of his natures. Thus since the *Apostles Creed* takes notice of nothing to be believed concerning Christ, but what belongs to his *manhood*, (which is strange, if there were any articles relating to his supreme Deity, which must be most important) one may venture to deny them all,

with this *secret* unexpressed reserve, viz. meaning it of the divine nature (to which they belong not.) So that one may say, I believe that Jesus Christ was not conceived of the *Holy Ghost*, or born of the virgin *Mary*; I believe that he never was crucified under *Pontius Pilate*, nor was dead or buried; that he never *rose* nor ascended, nor will *return* visibly again: for his divine nature (which 'tis pretended he had) was not capable of these things. And since they say, the personality is divine, here seems more warrant to be bolder in denying indefinitely of the person what belongs not to the divine nature, whose the *personality* is, than in so denying of the person what only belongs not to the human nature; as this interpretation makes Christ to do.

5. Finally, it weighs something with me, in opposition to this way of interpretation, that the Evangelists never take any occasion (when they had so many) to subjoin any *caution* against taking Christ's words in their obvious sense, when he says, *he did not know the hour*, &c. and the like. If, as we said, our Lord had no mind to reveal his divinity, (tho I see not still why he should deny it thus) yet sure his Apostles, who wrote so many years after, whom it concerned to reveal all important truths most clearly, would not fail to have set the reader right, by removing such obvious objections as these are against the supreme Deity of Christ; and saying, he spake this only in respect of his *manhood*, *that he knew not all things*, &c. But

Joh. 2. 21. here is not one caution given, as often we find
 Ch. 11. 13. there was about less matters. No doubt it was because they would have the thing understood as it fairly lies, not thinking of any such secret reserve in Christ, of a *divine nature* in his person,

person, to be tacitly excepted, when he had denied such perfections of his person indefinitely.

Thus it remains good, that Jesus Christ disclaims infinite perfections to belong to him as to the Father; and therefore that he is not the same infinite God with him, if we can believe his own words. But before I conclude this argument, I shall endeavour to answer what our opposers offer on the *contrary* side: they say there is abundant evidence from other Scriptures, that Jesus Christ has those perfections in him, which I have shewed in the forementioned places he denies of himself. These they lay in *balance* to the other; and since both sides cannot be proved, it must be examined; which ought to yield. Particularly they say, *omniscience* is ascribed to Jesus Christ, even such as is peculiar to the supreme God; and since this indeed is that infinite perfection which they seem to alledge the most plausible testimonies for its belonging to him, therefore I choose to single out this in particular. I think I have made good the *negative* already from his own mouth, that he did not know all things: nor can any thing of equal evidence and force be produced for the affirmative, as will appear upon considerate examination.

C H A P. III.

- I. *An answer to the objections founded on some indeterminate expressions in Scripture.*
 1. *Such as speak generally of Christ's knowing all things.*
 2. *Such as speak of his knowing mens thoughts and hearts in particular.*
- II. *An answer to the arguments drawn from the worship due to our Lord Jesus, shewing ultimate supreme worship of him to be inconsistent with the Gospel-doctrine of his mediation.*
- III. *The writers against the Unitarians unsay their own arguments against the Papists.*
- IV. *The conclusion, exhorting Christians to moderation and temper in their management of this controversy.*

S:q. I.

THE instances usually alledged to prove the infinite omniscience of Jesus Christ, are either, 1. Such as speak of his knowing all things in general; or, 2. Of his knowing mens thoughts and hearts in particular. To both which I reply:

First, 'Tis objected, that the Disciples ascribe to him the knowledge of all things, as *John* 16. 30. *Ch.* 21. 17. *Thou knowest all things.* I answer, That as those expressions are words of admiration from the Disciples *not yet inspired*; so they are intended only to express a very great and comprehensive knowledge, far from infinite divine omniscience; as appears,

1. By

1. By Christ's own words; he knew not what the Father knew, viz. the particular time of the day of judgment.

2. In that it was common to ascribe all knowledge to men of extraordinary wisdom, especially when any intended to commend them highly, and were affected with wonder; for admiration and praise naturally inclines to run out into hyperboles. Thus the woman of Tekoab, under a surprising wonder at David's sagacity, cries out, *My Lord knows all things on earth, and is as wise as an Angel.* 2 Sam. 14. And the Apostle in commendation of some Christians says, *They know all things.* 1 John 2. And yet 'tis plain such encomiums must have their limitations. And indeed the Jews seem to have thought their prophets knew, in a manner, *all things*: thus when a woman of ill fame anointed our Lord's head, the Pharisee says of him, *If this man were a prophet, he would know what manner of woman this is.* Luk. 7. 39. And when the woman of Samaria found that he told her of all her secret acts that ever she did, she concludes thus, *Sir, I perceive thou art a prophet.* Joh. 4. 19. 'Tis no wonder then if the Disciples speak thus of him, *Thou knowest all things*, without esteeming him more than the greatest of prophets.

3. 'Tis evident they never intended more, by attributing *all knowledge* to him, from their own words in one of the texts mentioned, *John* 16. 30. where the Disciples tell us, how much they inferred from his great knowledge, (which they describe and extol, by saying, *Thou knowest all things*) not that he was God, but one sent of God, *By this we believe that thou camest forth from God*; not that thou thyself art that God. So that, by these large expressions, they only intend to attribute to him what a created Being is, by divine assistance, capable of; and therefore

'tis violence to their words, to infer from them, that Jesus Christ is God, when themselves infer no such thing, who best knew their own meaning.

And yet if it were granted that our Lord Jesus knows all things, *i. e.* which actually are; yet if he knows not all *futurities* too, which himself denies, he comes short of infinite omniscience: For ought I know, a finite Being may have a knowledge commensurate to this poor earth, which is but a *dust of the ballance*; and yet not know all God's secret purposes, or the seasons, which the Father keeps in his own hand, *Acts*

1. 7.

Secondly, 'Tis objected, that the knowledge of the heart is ascribed to Christ, *John* 2. 25. *Mat.* 9. 9. but especially *Rev.* 2. 23. And this they say is what belongs to God only, as *Solomon* judges, *1 Kings* 8. 39. and God claims it as his eminent glory, *Jer.* 17. 10. and yet *Jesus Christ* says, *I am he who searches the heart*; therefore, say they, surely he must be that God, *who only knows the hearts of all the children of men*. I take this to be the strongest instance that can be produced from the sacred text, for proving any infinite divine perfections to belong to the Lord Jesus Christ, and it shall be seriously considered.

In answer hereto, I shall shew *two* things, 1. In what sense, the searching and knowing the heart is made peculiar to God, and incommunicable to others, by those texts. 2. That notwithstanding it be peculiar to him in some sense; yet these acts may, in another sense, be justly attributed to another, and performed by him who is not the most High God.

1. As to the former, tho *Solomon* says, *Thou, Lord, only knowest the hearts of all men*; yet what if I say, 'tis no wonder that *Solomon* should not

not know of any other to whom that excellency was communicated, since this *mystery* of the unsearchable riches and fulness of Christ, and of God's being *manifest* in his flesh, and his high exaltation of him, was hidden in the ages past, and only manifested in the times of the gospel? for 'tis in these latter times that our Lord Jesus has obtained his great authority and dignity, for which he has received answerable abilities. Yet I add, such expressions in Scripture, appropriating some perfections to God, do only import that God has *no equal* herein, or that there is an *eminent* sense only in which such perfections are peculiar to God, and incommunicable to all others; though still in a *lower* sense something of them may be communicated by him to others. And this shall be seen to be no forced supposition, but according to the current strain of plain Scripture, in a multitude of instances. Thus 'tis said, that *God only is wise*, Rom. 16. 27. 1 Tim. 1. 17. So Ch. 6. 16. *God only has immortality*. So thou *only art holy*, Rev. 15. 4. And yet there are wise and holy men, and immortal holy Angels and Spirits. But the meaning of those appropriate expressions is, that the blessed God is wise, and holy, and immortal, in a more excellent way, and higher sense than all others, and in which sense others cannot be so. So when 'tis said, God only knows the hearts of men, it must be interpreted the same way, *viz.* That there is none can know the heart as God does, so universally, so immediately and independently; and yet 'tis no contradiction, to say that he enables another to do it, in great measure, under him: And as he would argue but very weakly, who should go about to prove an Angel to be God, from this, that he is called holy and wise, &c. which are said to belong to God only: even so in the same manner

manner must they argue, who would prove Jesus Christ to be the supreme God from his knowing men's hearts, because 'tis said to belong to God only; except they can shew that Jesus Christ knows in the same excellent independent manner, and degree as his father, and that he is no more beholden to him for ability and assistance, than he is to his son *Jesus Christ*. So I might argue from *Isa. 46. 9.* that God only knows *Futurities*, and yet how often have the prophets foretold them from him?

And 'tis not hard to suppose, that as holiness and wisdom, so to know the thoughts and hearts of men, hath been communicated to Prophets and Apostles. Was there not something of this, if not in the Prophet *Elisba's* telling the secret counsels of the Syrian king, *2. Kings 6. 12.* yet at least in the *Spirit of discerning* mentioned *1 Cor. 12. 10.* and in the case of *Ananias and Sapphira*? I grant this was by divine assistance of the Spirit of God, and by Revelation: Neither is our Lord *Jesus Christ* ashamed to own that his knowledge is sometimes owing to *Revelation from God his Father*, *Rev. 1. 1.* If any should ask; how Jesus Christ comes to know all that he reveals in those seven Epistles to the seven Churches; &c. the very first words of that Book of the Revelations may be an answer; *It was the Revelation which God gave to Jesus Christ*, &c. No wonder, then, that he says, he knows their works, their hearts, and their approaching judgments and trials, when his own vast abilities are assisted by God's revelation.

But it will be said, that his *searching the heart*, imports it to be his own act. *Answer*; So it may very well be; for whatever a man knows, he knows it by his own act. And why may not the *mind* search, and yet be under the light of reve-

the Deity of JESUS CHRIST.

III

revelation, and the influence of superior assistance? But yet after all, these words of *searching* the heart, are only an expression that denotes the *accuracy* of his knowledge, not the *manner* of attaining to it; for, taken *properly*, as applied to God, 'tis dishonourable to say, he is put to make a *search*, since all things are naked and open to his view. And if they must be taken *strictly* and properly, as applied to Christ, then they belong not to him in the *same* sense as they do to God, and so can be no argument of his being that God. Which leads me to shew,

Secondly, That there's no absurdity in attributing *this* knowledge of the heart to *Jesus Christ*, though he be not the most high God. That he knows things with some limitation as to the *degree*, and in dependence on his Father as to the *manner*, appears by what has been said already. And therefore the knowledge of the heart attributed to him, must be such as is consistent with his subordination to the Father's *greater* knowledge.

'Tis pleaded, that 'tis not possible for a *finite* being to have such universal knowledge of the hearts and ways of men, as is ascribed to Jesus Christ, and which as *head* and ruler of the church and world, he ought to have, and therefore he is infinite God.

Answer; I am pretty sure it can never be demonstrated, that it exceeds a finite capacity to know the concerns of all on this earth, when the enlarged understanding is assisted in the highest manner by divine influence and revelation. The reason is, because the object is finite; and I challenge any man to shew me how it can be impossible for a finite capacity to comprehend a finite object, as this world is, and would be, though it were ten thousand times greater than it
is?

is? I am satisfied this can never be demonstrated to imply any contradiction in it; and that all such imaginations concerning it proceed chiefly from too high a conceit of man, and too low apprehension of the infinite God; as if the distance between these two were so small, that there could not be one made of a capacity so much above men, as to be commensurate to them all, but presently he must be the most high God; as though that supreme Being could not produce one who should be a thousand times beyond all this earth and its inhabitants, and yet be infinitely below himself. Methinks, if the *Sun* was but an intelligent creature, and could diffuse his intellectual influences as he does his natural, could but see and understand with his beams and secret influences, 'tis easy to imagine what a penetrating and comprehensive knowledge he might have; but we may entertain much greater thoughts of the *Sun of Righteousness, Jesus Christ*.

And I conceive a strong argument to prove Jesus Christ, as man, capable of such deep and extensive knowledge, may be drawn from the offices of dignity and power conferred on him by God: For God has given to him to be head over all things. He has given or committed to him all judgment; and that as the *Son of man*. In short, his kingly office, by which he rules over all the world, and takes special care of all his members; as it necessarily supposes his knowledge of the whole estate of his church, and every member of it, as far as is necessary for the discharge of that trust; so I think it undeniably proves this large knowledge to be exercised by him as man, however he gains it.

For, since this office and power is given, it cannot terminate in the divine nature; for who can give to God any dignity or power, who has all

all *originally* in his own being? it must then be given to the *man*, or human nature only: And if the *man* Christ Jesus sustains this office, and be invested with this kingly power, even with all power in heaven and earth; then *as man* we cannot deny him to be suitably qualified for it with all requisite abilities, lest we reproach *God*, as calling one to an employment, who is not fitted for it, or *himself* in assuming a trust which he is not able to discharge. Besides, unless his human nature can execute this power, it cannot be said to be given to it; for a power which cannot be exerted, or is impossible to be executed, is not given nor received, any more than a commission, or grant to a stock or a tree, to bear rule, not over the other trees (as in *Jotham's* apologue) but over a nation, or to command an army: 'Tis no gift at all, if this were the case, that the *man* Christ Jesus be utterly incapable of the office and government lodged in him.

If it be said, that though the office and delegated authority be committed to the *human*; yet 'tis only executed by the *divine* nature in Christ: *Answer*, 'Tis most unreasonable to suppose this trust committed to the *man* Christ, who must at last deliver it up; and yet the management of it belong only to *another* being. How can he be commended for being *faithful over the house of God*, to him who appointed or constituted him, when 'tis not expected he should execute his office? I grant, indeed, that his *kingly office* is executed by the assistance of *God*, as he exerts his divine power and wisdom, through the human nature of Christ, and communicates of them in *all fulness* to him, in whom it dwells: but to say, that the *man* Christ does not exercise his kingly universal power; but that his divine nature (supposing it) does solely and immediately execute the office given

1 Cor. 15.

24.

Heb. 3. 2.

when 6.

given to him as *man* or mediator (for to God can nothing be given) is, in my mind, a most gross absurdity: for 'tis to say, That God officiates for man, in execution of a *delegated* or subordinate authority; or that he acts under the authority, and in the name of a creature, which is not meet to be said of the supreme God. *It remains*, therefore, that as Christ's universal kingdom and headship is by gift from God (of which only the man Christ is the receiver) committed as a *trust* to him, so he certainly wants no ability to execute that trust in the *nature* entrusted with it; I say, no ability, whether of power or knowledge, sufficient to render him a careful, vigorous, and every way most effectual *head* of his body, and ruler of the world: and to deny this, is to rob him of his greatest glory.

Besides, what benefit or *gift* is it to the man Christ, that the divine nature should execute a power which it *always* had, and could exercise without any gift to him? What reward, or what addition was this to him?

Another *argument* may be drawn from that comfortable ground of confidence in a *Christian's* address to God, which the Scripture lays down, *viz.* The sympathizing compassion of our Lord Jesus Christ towards his distressed servants, arising from his own sufferings when on earth: *Seeing we have not an high priest, who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted as we are; let us therefore come boldly to the throne of grace.* Christ's having been try'd with sufferings, makes him a more compassionate earnest advocate for us; and this is our comfort.

Heb. 4.
15, 16.

Now 'tis certain, this compassion arising from his own experience of trouble, can belong to none but his human nature; the divine nature

is compassionate, but not for this reason, *because* it was tempted or grieved with misery? No, it was only the man Christ suffered, and consequently feels a *sympathy* from hence with his distressed servants. And 'tis most certain, that if he sympathizes with them in their troubles, he must then know them in *that nature* which only has a *fellow-feeling* of them; for none can sympathize with the miseries of others which he knows not of: So that they who deny Christ's human nature to be capable of the knowledge of all our miseries, do, in effect, deny him to be such a *compassionate* advocate as the Scripture represents him, and rob us of this strong ground of consolation and hope in our approaches to God, which the *Apostle* would have us to build on.

And this doctrine has been so far from appearing either impossible or *absurd* to the reason of mankind, that I might produce the consent of a very great number of learned men, even among them who oppose my other opinions. The *Lutherans* allow the man Christ a sort of universal knowledge, as well as universal presence, which they plead for. The school-men, both *Thomists* and *Scotists*, allow him universal knowledge, though they differ in their way of explaining it.

And there was a time in the sixth century, when in the christian church some were branded with *Heresy*, under the name of *Agnostæ*, who held Christ was ignorant of any thing, which I conceive must have been in relation to his *human nature*; for those persons owned him to have a *divine nature*, and 'tis hard to imagine they could attribute ignorance to that. But (waving that matter, which is disputed) it is enough for my purpose, *viz.* To prove what sense the christian church then had of Christ's *extensive* knowledge,

as man; that they who wrote against those Heretics do expressly deny any ignorance in Christ as man. For this we may produce two famous patriarchs of the christian church at that time, viz. Eulogius of Alexandria, and Gregory of Rome: those Heretics produced for their opinion, Christ's words, that he knew not the time of the last judgment, as an instance of his ignorance. To this the former person says, That he was not ignorant of it, *not as man, and much less as God.* The latter says, *In natura quidem humanitatis novisse, sed non ex natura humanitatis.* He knew it with the human nature, but that knowledge did not rise from the humanity; which is what I maintain as to the knowledge I attribute to him, but not extending it so far as to all *futurities*, which they did.

And I find not a few of the modern reformed Divines, who (when out of this dispute) speak agreeable to this, and are far from thinking it idolatry, to ascribe as much knowledge as I have done, to the man Christ. Thus the reverend Mr. Baxter, in his notes on Eph. 4. 16. plainly intimates, that he conceives an Angel might be made capable of ruling the universal church on earth by legislation, judgment, and execution: for having said this task was impossible to any power but *divine*, he corrects himself, by adding, *or angelical at least*: and sure the man Christ's ability is far superior to Angels; besides that he has them ministering to him, and giving him notice of matters if there be any occasion; for he has seven principal spirits, who are the eyes of the Lamb sent forth through all the earth, as the same author interprets, Rev 5. 6.

So the author of the little book, called, *The Future State*, the same who wrote the *Good Samaritan*, a worthy Divine of the church of Eng-
land,

land, says many things very rational concerning the large extent of Christ's human knowledge; that probably, *he can as easily inspect the whole globe of this earth, and the heavens that compass it, as we can view a globe of an inch diameter*: p. 46, 47. *That he intercedes as man; and can he intercede in a case which he knows not?* So again, p. 150. The like says Limborch in his *Theol. Christ.* lib. 5. c. 18.

Let me add only the testimony of Dr. Thomas Goodwin, who was never I suppose censured for an *Idolater* among *Dissenters*; and yet 'tis scarce possible that I should attribute greater knowledge to the *man* Jesus Christ than he. See his *Select Cases*, Part III. where he says, the *human understanding of Christ takes in all occurrences which concern his church. And that as he said, All power in heaven and earth is given me of my Father; so might he say, all knowledge in heaven and earth is given me, that his beams pierce into every corner, that he knows the sore of every heart.* And concludes with these remarkable words, *that as a looking-glass wrought in the form of a globe, represents the images of all that is in the room, so the enlarged human understanding of Christ takes in all things in heaven and earth at once.* It seems these men did not take it to be the peculiar perfection of the divine nature to know the *hearts*, so as that no creature could partake of it by divine assistance and revelation.

Indeed, as to the manner of knowing the heart, we cannot tell how the inhabitants of the other world have access to our minds, or to each other's; but without doubt, *Jesus Christ*, whose eyes are as a *flame of fire*, has more proper abilities for penetration, as well as more revelation from God, and more capacity for receiving and treasuring it up, than all others.

In short, 'tis evident, Christ as *man* is the great
 Joh 5. 27. *administrator* of God's providential kingdom;
 Acts 17. as *man* he must judge the whole world, which
 31. implies vast and universal knowledge. Who then
 dare say, that the *man* Christ Jesus has not a
 knowledge as large as this narrow earth, or as
the sand by the sea-shore, without any *hyperbole*?
 I think 'tis beyond all reasonable doubt: and as
 this doctrine has appeared rational enough, and
 escaped all censure, as far as I know, when deli-
 vered by others than the *Unitarians*; so I hope it
 must not be counted *heretical* in them, for which
 others never forfeited the glorious title of *Or-
 thodox*.

Thus it appears, that all which is said of
 Christ's extensive knowledge in Scripture, is far
 from proving him to be the supreme *infinite* God;
 it may be accounted for *otherwise* very fairly:
 and the like may be also said with respect to other
 (which some call) *divine* perfections attributed to
 him, that they are no more *truly* infinite, as
 attributed to him, than this of knowledge, but
 that there are plain evidences of their being at-
 tributed to him in a *limited* and inferior sense,
 in comparison of what they are, in the most glo-
 rious God over all Gods; and therefore men had
 need produce other sort of arguments for the
 supreme Deity of Christ, than from these topics.

Sect. II. Nor do I doubt but I could maintain my cause
 with equal advantage, upon the head of *divine*
worship, which is another *topic*, whence my op-
 posers would infer the Deity of the Lord Jesus
 Christ: it were easy to shew, there is no *instance*
 of *supreme* divine worship given *ultimately* to
 him in Scripture, but on the *contrary*, that all
 the honour it assigns to him is such as speaks him
 to be *inferior* to the Father, and *dependent* on
 him; since it is wholly grounded upon what God
 his

his father has graciously bestowed on him. Thus he requires *Baptism* (if that be an act of immediate proper worship) *in his name*, because *all power* in heaven and earth was given to him. Thus we must honour the *Son* as (truly, not as greatly as) we honour the *Father*; because the *Father hath committed, or given, all judgment to him*. Thus at the name of *Jesus* must every knee bow, and every tongue confess him to be Lord; because as a reward of his obedience, the *Father hath given him a name above every name*: and 'tis added, that all this homage is ultimately to the glory of the *Father*. Worship which is thus grounded upon *derived* and borrowed excellency, is not *supremely* divine, and cannot be offered to the infinite, self-originate, independent *Deity*, without a great affront, because 'tis not the most excellent, *Mal. 1. 14.* To praise an independent God for honour and power granted to him by another, supposes a falshood, and mingles reproaches with praise.

John 5.
22, 23.
Phil. 2. 10,
11.

So that however there may be the same common *external* acts or words (such as bowing the knee, and saying *glory and praise, &c.*) used to God and the *Mediator*; as also in some instances, they are given in common to *ordinary* men; yet the mind of a rational worshipper will make a distinction in his inward *intention*, as no doubt but those devout *Jews* did, who in the same act bowed their heads, and worshipped both God and the King. But I shall not pursue this any farther at present.

1 Chron.
29. 20.

Moreover, I judge, that to assert *Jesus Christ* to be the *supreme* God, subverts the gospel-doctrine of his *mediation*; for if I must have one who is *supreme God and man*, for my mediator with God, then, when I address to *Jesus Christ* as the *supreme* God, where is the *God-man* that must be my mediator with him? To say he me-

diates with *himself*, is the same as to say, that I must go to him without a mediator; and turns the whole business of mediation into a *metaphor*, contrary to the common sense of things, as well as against the *Scripture*: and I would gladly know what is the notion of going to God without a mediator, if this be all, that he mediates with himself? Who ever doubted the exercise of his own *wisdom* or *mercy*, that these do in a sort plead in him? But sure the Scriptures speak of a mediator without him, when they set forth Jesus Christ as such; and who is this mediator, when we go to Jesus Christ as the *ultimate* object? If it be said *his human nature only* acts in this mediation, tho as united to the *divine*; I answer, that as this is still to make *Christ* mediator with *himself*, so the human nature is not *God-man*; and if the man, or human nature *alone*, be capable of doing the part of a mediator, then 'tis not necessary that *Jesus Christ* should be more than a *man* inhabited by, and related to God, in order to that office. Nor may it be said, that the *union* to the divine nature gives an *infinite efficacy* to those acts, of which the human only is the principle; for unless by that union, the human nature was turned into an infinite or divine nature, its acts can no more be reckoned properly and *intrinsically* infinite in this case, than his *body* or human *understanding* are infinite, because so united to an infinite nature.

But what fully demonstrates, that the human nature of Christ can never be an *effectual* mediator (according to them) no, not tho it were personally united to the divine, is this, *viz.* That they deny this human nature so united, to have the knowledge of the secret mental prayers, the inward desires and distresses of all Christians, or to know any one's *heart*: And how then can he be

be a compassionate intercessor in cases that he knows nothing of? Or how can he have a *fellow-feeling* of their sufferings, which he knows not that they feel at all? What comfort is there in this account of Christ's mediation? The divine nature is precluded from it, because they direct us to seek to that as the *ultimate* object thro a mediator; and the human nature, they say, may know nothing of our case, nor knows *our hearts*, whether we worship sincerely, or repent sincerely, or hypocritically only; and so knows not how to represent or recommend us to God. What a case now do these men bring us into? There is no *mediator* left to interpose with the supreme God; so that we must deal with him *immediately* and alone, which they will own is *far* from the gospel-doctrine or method. Thus is the Lord Jesus turn'd out of his *office*, on a pretence of giving him higher honour. So that upon the whole, as far as I see, we had even as good be content with the Apostle's fair and plain account of this matter; if its being so very *intelligible*, may not be an unpardonable objection against it, *viz.* That *there is but one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus*. Never let us fear, but St. Paul knew how to describe the *Mediator*, without leaving out the better half of him, or the principal nature. Our Mediator, according to him, was only called a *man*; who also is by office a *God*, or ruler over all, made so by him who *puts* all things under him.

1 Tim. 2

5.

And indeed as there are two principal *distinguishing* doctrines of *Christianity*, relating to the unity of the supreme God, and the *one Mediator* with him; so the *Trinitarians* have lost them both among their several *parties*. For as they are divided into two principal parties (besides several sub-

sub-divisions) both among *Conformists* and *Dissenters*, one part holding *three* real persons, or *infinite Beings*, the other but *one*; (for they are not yet agreed whether they worship *three* infinite supreme beings, or but *one*) so between them both, these *two great Doctrines* are subverted; the *Realists* leave room for a *Mediator in the Godhead*, but they destroy the unity of God, who is *one* infinite Being: on the *other hand*, they who hold true to the divine unity, or one infinite Being under *three modes*, or properties, or relations, do, by plain consequence, leave no place for such a *Mediator* as they require, *viz.* one who is an *infinite God*, to be a mediator with the infinite God, when there is no other *infinite Being* but his own, and he cannot be thought to intercede with himself neither. So that to keep the Gospel-saith whole and *undefiled*, 'tis necessary that we avoid both these rocks, by believing God and his Christ to be two beings, that so there may be room for one to mediate with the other: and that these two are not two equal or supreme beings, but one *subordinate* to the other, that so we may preserve the *unity* of the supreme God.

Let us then bethink ourselves seriously, not what the church in latter days has thought of Jesus Christ, but what his own Apostles, *when inspired*, have thought of him. Methinks none was more likely, or ever had a fairer occasion to represent his Lord in the height of his glory, than the Apostle *Peter* in the day of *Pentecost*: that day of triumph, with the newly and visibly inspired Apostles: hear how magnificently he describes his glorious Lord Jesus before his murderers,

Acts 2. 22. Ye men of Israel hear these words. Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you, by miracles, wonders, and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you. Again, Let all the House of
Israel

Israel *know assuredly, that God hath made that* Ver. 36.
same Jesus whom ye have crucified, both Lord and
Christ. Now 'tis observable, the Apostle was
 aiming at such a description of Jesus Christ, as
 might strike the hearts of his *murderers* with the Ver. 23
 greatest horror of their crime; and therefore
 could never omit the most *emphatical* branch of
 his description, viz. his *infinite Deity*, if he had
 really been such. What a terrifying argument
 had that been to beget conviction in his persecu-
 tors beyond all the rest, to tell them, they had
 shed the blood of the *infinite God himself*? 'Tis
 certainly all flat and low, that St. Peter says in
 comparison of this, viz. *That he was a man ap-*
proved of God. Did he not understand, or would
 he betray his cause by such an omission? And yet
 he only represents Christ as a God by *inhabita-*
tion and exaltation; when he was far from being
 daunted with any fear to own Christ fully. Nay,
 if this Deity of Christ were a fundamental article
 of the *Christian faith*, how comes it to pass, that
 when poor *convinced* souls, in anguish for their
 crimes, seek direction how to be saved from them, Ver. 37
 the Apostle should not acquaint them with this
 article, but directs them to believe in *this Jesus*,
 such as he had described him? Did he direct
 wounded souls to an *insufficient* Saviour, without
 telling them, he was the infinite God? Yet they
 are baptiz'd and added to the church, and num-
 bred among such as shall be saved: How can this
 be, if the supreme Godhead of Christ be a funda-
 mental article of the Christian faith? So Acts 10.
 38. *God was with him.* This was all.

To conclude, God and Christ (or one anoint- 3rd. III.
 ed) are two *Disparates*, or different things, as
 much as Christ's *body* and *bread* are, and there-
 fore cannot be predicated one of the other, in a
 proper

proper sense, or without a figure, as all our writers against the *Romish* transubstantiation argue, and 'tis of equal force in the present case. To be *anointed*, imports, to be raised by authority and honour confer'd; 'tis in effect to say, the person is a creature, or inferior being: and therefore to say, that properly Christ is most high God, is to say, the inferior is supreme, and the man is God; which cannot be, otherwise than by a figure, as the bread is Christ's body, viz. by relation, &c. And truly if the business can be saved here, by making a personal union between God and Christ, I see not why the Papists may not set up such another union between Christ's body and the bread in the eucharist, and then they may stoutly defend that 'tis the body of Christ properly. But indeed nothing is more obvious than the unsteadiness of many Protestant writers, when they write against the *Papists* and the *Unitarians*: How do they go backwards and forwards? And when they have triumphantly and fully beaten off the vain assaults and objections of the *Papists*, they take up their baffled arguments, and urge them the same way (as others did against them) against the *Unitarians*: and what they have maintained against the former, as good argument, notwithstanding *Romish* evasions; these arguments they oppose, when the *Unitarians* turn them against themselves, in the point of the Trinity; and they betake themselves to like shifts and evasions. Thus let the *Papists* object to them the novelty of the Protestant religion, and ask them where was their religion and church before *Luther*? they think it a weak cavil, and can tell them their religion was in the bible, and their church among the primitive Christians, however it lay hid in the time of common apostacy; and yet to the

Unitarians they can make the same objection. Where has any christian church, for so many ages, held that Christ was not God? Against the Papist they will prove, that the *Fathers* did not hold the elements to be Christ's real body and blood, because they oft call them the *images* thereof: but let the *Unitarians* argue that Christ is not the supreme God, because the Scripture styles him the *image* of God, and therefore not the God whose image only he is; then the thing itself and its image must be the same thing. Against the Papist they can prove St. Peter was inferior to the church, and the rest of the Apostles (though not singly to each), because he was sent up and down by them. This *Baronius* takes hold of, and tells them, by the same reason they must grant the *Arians* argument to be good, viz. That the *Father* is greater than the *Son*, because the *Son* is sent by him. But let an *Unitarian* argue thus, and then, though the *Father* sends, and the *Son* be sent by him, yet they shall both be equal, and this shall make no difference. Against the *Papists* they will boast, that they don't hoodwink the people in ignorance; but bid them inquire and examine, and the more the better, while 'tis ground of suspicion, that the *Papists* cheat men, by their keeping them from the light: But now having to do with the *Unitarians*, they tack about, and bid beware of reading and disputing; they are for an *implicit faith*, without examining into deep mysteries; they bid us believe, not pry into them: tho we only desire to examine whether the *Scriptures* do reveal any such mysteries at all; the rest we will believe, if we could see that, and desire no other liberty in interpreting Scripture, than they take so justly in interpreting Christ's words, *This is my body*. Upon Protestant principles the *Unitarians* think

Euseb.

cont.

Marcel. p.

25.

think they can stand their ground, and defend themselves in these matters, as easily as the Protestants can against the Papists.

As to primitive antiquity, so many inquirers, both among the *Romish* and *Reformed* writers, have given their impartial testimony, that it runs for *Arius's doctrine*; and have made such poor apologies for those *Fathers*, as tho they knew not, or were not careful of their fundamental articles of faith, till they came to be banded about in general *councils*, that I think it not needful to say more here: only one thing I would suggest; That allowing the primitive writers to speak in different places with great, at least seeming discord, (which any ingenuous man must grant) sometimes plainly declaring Jesus Christ inferior to, and the servant of the Father, *before his incarnation*; at other times giving him high titles, as of one equal with God: yet 'tis far more reasonable to suppose the *higher* expressions should be expounded according to the *other*, than the contrary; because in discoursing of, and pleading for a *beloved* admired object, as the Lord Jesus deserves to be, 'tis very easy and natural to run out into strains of eloquence, and lofty *flights* of praise, which must be interpreted not with strict rigour, but with great abatements, as is to be observed in some of their high *encomiums* on the venerable mystery of the eucharist, as tho with the *Papists* they took the elements for Christ's real Body, which yet they evidently did deny. But on the contrary, no men are wont ever to speak *diminutively* on such occasions; they could not have a thought to lessen their master's glory; and therefore if they ever represent him as *not* the supreme God, nor equal to him, we have all reason to think they then spake the words of truth and soberness, and what the exact matter required.

For

For my own part, as I write this under the serious impressions of these great relations in which the blessed *Jesus* stands to me, whom I credit as my great teacher; whom I desire to admire and love as my gracious endeared benefactor; beyond father and mother, or friends, &c. whom I reverence as my Lord and ruler, and solemnly expect as my final glorious judge, who is to come in his own, and in his Father's glory, Luke 9: and in the mean time deal with God thro' him, 26. as my only Mediator and Intercessor: so I earnestly profess, that 'tis not without grievous and bitter resentments, that I should be employ'd in writing things, which by so many well-meaning Christians will be misinterpreted; to be derogatory to the honour of this great Redeemer. But I know he loves nothing but truth in his cause, and will never be offended, I hope, with any who stand by his own words, viz. The Father John 14: is greater than I. I think it a dangerous 28. thing to say, God is not greater than he, or is not the head of Christ; for, whom will ye equal to me, saith the holy one? I am persuaded 'tis truth, I Isa. 40. 25: plead for, and that supports me.

However, I wish they who are adversaries to Sect. IV. my persuasion, would learn at least the modesty of one of the earliest writers for Christianity since the Apostles, that we have, I mean *Justin Martyr*, disputing with a Jew, and pleading for the honour of Jesus Christ, whom he calls God by the will of the Father, and one who ministred to his will, before his incarnation. This person attempts to shew, that Jesus Christ did pre-exist of old, as a God, (in his sense) and was born afterwards of a virgin: but because, as he says, there were some who confessed him to be Christ, and yet denied those points of his pre-existence and his miraculous birth of a virgin, that

that Father calmly says to his adversary, *If I shall not demonstrate these things, that he did pre-exist, &c. and was born of a virgin; yet still the cause is not lost, as to his being the Christ of God; if I do not prove that he did pre-exist, &c. it is just to say that I am mistaken in this thing only, and not to deny that he is the Christ; for whosoever he be, that is every way demonstrated, that he is the Christ.*

And as for those Christians who denied the above-said things, and held him to be only a man, born in the ordinary way, he only says of them, *to whom I accord not.* He does not damn them who differed from him, nor will say the Christian religion is subverted, and Christ but an impostor and a broken reed to trust on, if he be not the very supreme God, (the ranting *dialect* of some in our age) no; but still he was sure he is the true Christ, whatever else he might be mistaken in. 'Tis desperate wickedness in men to hazard the reputation of the truth and holiness of the blessed Jesus, upon a difficult and disputable opinion; to dare to say, that if they are mistaken in their opinion (which I verily believe they are) then Jesus Christ is a *liar* and a *deceiver*; a *mock-Saviour*, and the like. What is this but to expose him to the scorn of infidels?

So that I see with sorrow, that to this very day, even among professed Christians themselves, Christ crucified is to some a stumbling-block, and to others foolishness. If he be not as good and great as the God who appointed him for a Saviour, tho he be allowed to be a man approved of God, by signs and mighty wonders which God did by him, and by whom God made the worlds, as the instrument; tho he be granted to be one in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead, so as it never dwelt before in prophets or any other; tho he be one with the Father, by unity of con-

sent and will, as *Calvin* interprets *John* 10. 30. one in *testimony* with the Father and Spirit, as *Beza* and many others understand that in *John* 5. 7. tho he be the most lively visible image of God that the world ever saw, so that he who sees him, does, in great measure, *see the Father*, as in a *bright mirror*, *John* 14. 10. tho he be owned and served, as one far above Angels and Arch-angels, and over all powers in heaven and earth, a God or Ruler, the great administrator of God's kingdom, both on earth and in the invisible *realms*, as *having the keys*, or ministerial power of *death and hell*; yet after all this, if he be not the very *supreme God* himself; nay, to complete the absurdity, if he be not the very *same* God, whose *Son* and *Image* he is, he shall be no mediator for them: they do *ex hypothesi*, or on this supposition, openly disown him for their Saviour and Confidence; they are ashamed to trust in him, and seem rather to deride and reproach him, as *insufficient* and contemptible, than to believe on him *. These things are to me a very grievous *offence*, who think it a great pity that so excellent a constitution as the Gospel is, so *amiable* to contemplate, so proper to entertain our thankful admiration for the *grace and wisdom* it contains, should *either* be lost in the clouds of an *affecting* obscurity, or exposed to the derision of ungodly scoffers.

'Tis yet a farther grief to think what a fatal stop is hereby put to the progress of the Gospel; whose rejection by *Jews, Mahometans* and *Pagans*, is undeniably occasioned by the *common doctrine* of the incarnation of God. One may read in *Le Compté's* history of *China*, how the Heathens derided the Christians doctrine of a *mortal God*;

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and

* *Dr. Calamy's Sermons on the Trinity*, p. 130, 360.

P. 118.

and upon that account esteemed Christianity as *fabulous* as their own Religion. And Doctor *Casaubon*, in his book of *credulity and incredulity*, says, He could prove by many instances out of history, that this *doctrine has kept more people from embracing the christian faith, than any other thing he knew of*. Now tho I grant, that if it be the certain *truth of God*, this must be no argument against receiving it; yet surely it should make men very cautious and impartial in their inquiry about it, lest they bring on themselves the *woe* denounced against them by whom offences (that is, stumbling-blocks in the way of the Gospel) do come.

In the mean time, in the midst of these troubles, 'tis a great and sweet *refreshment* to wait and hope for a remove to the *mount Moriah*, the land of *vision* above, where all these shades of melancholy night shall vanish away, and an eternal day of clear *light* and peace shall shine on them *who love our Lord Jesus in sincerity*; in whose glorious dignity I rejoice; nay, I desire to boast and glory in this exalted, enthroned Redeemer; for *worthy is the Lamb to receive glory*, and honour, and blessing, and power. Amen: So be it!

Now to *him* who loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests to God, even the *Father*, to him be glory and dominion for ever.

But this I confess unto thee, that after the way, which they call Heresy, so worship I the God of my Fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets. Acts 24. 14.

GENERAL REMARKS

O N

Mr. *Boyse's* VINDICATION

O F T H E

TRUE DEITY

O F O U R

Blessed Saviour.

To which is added,

An Examination of Mr. *Boyse's* (and from him Dr. *Waterland's*) Answer to the Objection from *Mat. 24. 36.* and *Mark 13. 32.* *Of that day knoweth none, not the Son, but the Father only.*

And also

A short Reflexion on Mr. *Boyse's* Argument for the Supreme DEITY of *Jesus Christ*, from the CREATION of all Things being ascribed to *Him*.

1704.

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Examination of the Answer to the Objection from Christ's not knowing the day of Judgment, Mat. 24. 36. and Mark 13. 32.

Reflexion on the argument for the supreme Deity of Jesus Christ from the Creation being ascribed to him.

General REMARKS, on Mr.

Boyle's *Vindication of the
true Deity of our BLESSED
SAVIOUR.*

INTRODUCTION.

MR. B. was so much disposed to find fault with the *Humble Inquiry, &c.* that the innocent Title it self must not escape, and the Author's scandal and *sincerity* must be arraigned for intitling it so; but where's the hurt? *It was,* says he, *to cover an heterodox book with an orthodox title.* Any reasonable man would think, that an *humble Inquiry or an Argument* concerning Christ's Deity, could be neither *heterodox* nor *orthodox*, since it asserts nothing at all; but those two words *heterodox* and *orthodox* make so pretty a jingle, that we must forgive him, if for that reason only he was willing to adorn his entrance with so fine a fancy; but at first dash to begin with reproaching the Author's *sincerity*, and that on so trifling, so weak, and groundless a pretence, as this harmless title, is so strong an evidence of that intemperate heat with which he set about his answer, that

it will very much invalidate all the commendations he gives of his own *mildness* and *temper* in the management of this argument. I believe Mr. E. thinks Mr. B's title is a cover to an *heterodox* book, but yet will not fall so foul upon his *sincerity* for it.

But to come to what is more material, Mr. B. propounds to state the question as to Christ's *Deity*, and as to the *Trinity*, which it presupposes; and here indeed the hinge of the Controversy lies: let him tell us what Trinity he holds, and make out such a Deity in Christ as is consistent with it, and he will then lay a ground for fair arguing, which is much preferable to the capping of texts with distorting criticisms and mystic paraphrases, but it is here in the very foundation he has most grossly fail'd, which is the reason of the confusion and inconsistencies which follow, as I shall endeavour to make appear.

As to his explanation of the Trinity, he tells us, *Father, Word and Spirit are three*, but more he pretends not to know, only that these three are *but one being*; and under the covert of this obscurity he takes the liberty to speak of the *Father and Son*, sometimes as *numerically* one Being, and at other times as *one in kind*: so that if I can show that the Father and Son are *not one* and the same Being, but *two*, and that what Mr. B. himself says of them necessarily implies them to be two, this will overthrow all his arguments for Christ's supreme Deity, and will evidence his interpretations to be mere perversions of Scripture from its genuine sense, unless he will hold two supreme Minds or Beings, as some of his brethren do.

Now to prove that the Father and Son (in his highest capacity) are two *proper* persons or beings, I shall appeal to any sober reader of Scripture,

ture, whether they are not obviously so represented there, as much as any two men in Scripture-history are; and I doubt not but 'tis the evidence of this has made so many write of a Trinity of three persons in God, meaning it as of three persons in the common sense of the word: but now because three such persons would infer three Beings, this word, in the common sense, begins to be cashier'd by our *Modalists*, and the *Unitarians* are fain to take on them the task of proving them three *real* persons. But I challenge any man to show how he will prove any two in the Gospel-history (who consented in the same spirit and design) to be two human persons, so as that it shall not by the same way be proved, that the Father and Son are two. What is it makes two *proper* persons? Is it not the having two intellects, wills, and life? Do not these make the essence of an intelligent being? Now nothing is more evident than that the Scriptures assert this of the Father and the Son; the Father and the Son mutually know each other, the Son does not his *own* will, but the will of the *Father*, his Life is given him of the *Father*; he spake not of himself, but the *Father*, which sent him, gave him commandment. Nor is this contradicted by its being said that *they are one*, John 10. 30. for Christ tells us how and in what sense they are one, when he prays, *John* 17. 22. that his Disciples may be one, even as his Father and he were one. The phrase never imports *one Being* throughout all the Scriptures, but always *one in consent*; this made *Calvin* say the Antients abused the Scriptures, in attempting to prove from thence a consubstantiality. And 'tis apparent what Mr. B. asserts proves them two distinct beings, and so gives up the cause on his own hypothesis. See what he says of *emanation of his essence* from the

Father, of the *economy*, of *communicating* rule,
 &c. p. 24. 25. 88.

I am persuaded as this way is more rational in it self, so it has incomparably more countenance from Scripture, than the other, of being *one in essence*, of which there is not the least hint; it is only drawn from consequences in the point of *creation, worship, names, &c.* which may be well accounted for other ways; at least let them be left unaccounted for rather than so strange a way of solution be pitch'd upon without any direction from divine revelation. I may add that the unity of God and Christ (tho' it may be far greater) is not any where in all the Scriptures so strongly exprest as is the unity of Christ and Christians, 1 Cor. 6. 17. 2 Pet. 1. 4. where they are said to be *one Spirit* and *partakers of the divine nature*, and yet is by none interpreted of *unity of essence*. If such words had been said of the Father and the Son, that *they are one Spirit*, what work would the Trinitarians have made with it? And yet it is by all agreed, that they have no such sense as *one in being*, but import only *one in consent, interest and relation*.

There is but one God, says the Scripture; *Christ is called God*; Ergo, *Christ is the most high God*. This is the Sum of all the Trinitarian arguments. But tho there be but one God in the most eminent sense, Christ is never said to be *that one God* or *so God*, as to be the *only God*, who has no equal, which is said of the Father, John 17. 3. 1 Cor. 6. 5. Moreover, Christ is the *Son of God*, but we never find the Father styled the *Father of God*, but of *our Lord Jesus Christ*; which yet would have been as natural and proper, if Christ was as much God as the Father, since he is no more the Son of the Father, than the first person is the Father of the Son.

I know some have turned the Trinity into an allegory of *three modes* and relative properties in the same being, or of three immanent acts, or attributes, *life, intellect and will*; but whatever be the *ecclesiastic Trinity*, this is not the *Scripture Trinity*. The Spirit is life and knowledge too; all the essential attributes of a reasonable being are attributed to each of the three; not *Sabellius*, nor *Arius*, nor *Socinus* did ever deny this. Christ is the wisdom of God, as it is treasured up in him, and by him manifested, and so he is the mighty power of God too; but to say he is the essential wisdom of the Father, is to make him the Father's essence, *i. e.* the Father himself; for what is the Father but his own perfections? If he be only the reflex act of the Father's wisdom, how is it that such a *reflex act only* is incarnate, and not the original mind from whence it is exerted? Can an act of wisdom, or power, or mercy be incarnate, and be sent into the world? nay, what is the reflex act, but an act of the original mind? So that, at this rate, the Father would in his act be incarnate.

If the Scriptures speak not of *proper persons* in a sense intelligible by men, as well may the Gospel-history of Christ's miracles and passion be made an allegory, as the Trinity; when God sends his Spirit, is that his complacency and self-delight, and his Son, his reflex wisdom? Is it *he*, and *he*, and a *third*, when 'tis only the same mind that thinks and wills? But this is not Mr. B's meaning, when he talks of the *Father's suspending his right and power*, &c. For if the first principle or act suspend itself, all the rest must cease. His instance, p. 26. of a Father and Son ruling together, shew that he is still harping on two beings in God; else it is no way pertinent,
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any more than his argument in relation to St. *Peter's* being sent by the rest of the Apostles, p. 152.

Mr. *B.* therefore had so little reason to say that he had gone to the bottom of this controversy, that one may venture to say he has not gone beyond the skirts and borders of it: whoever would go to the root of that controversy, must more distinctly fix the notion of the divine Unity, than Mr. *B.* has done; who, with many others, plead indeed for the Unity of God, but are loth to say, whether they mean that the divine essence is single, and *numerically one*, or multiplied into three single beings, or *proper persons*, and so collectively or *specifically one*, and then speak with constant confusion, sometimes what implies the Unity of one sort, and sometimes the other; and tho both are inconsistent, yet it suffices them, that still they hold the Unity in general.

This is the common dark method of the Trinitarian writers, eminently to be observed in *Placcus* his arguments in this controversy, who subtilly declines the true stating of the question, *viz.* Whether Christ be the supreme God; or has a God over him? pretending to prove that he is endued with a divine nature, but yet not determining whether it be the self-same numerical essence, or one of the same nature, and kind with the Father. See the beginning of his second volume. The same fault the learned critic Mr. *Le Clerc* charges upon Bp *Bull* with relation to the Fathers, who laboured under the same defect in their writings: See his Life of *Eusebius*. Whereas it is all disputing in the dark till this be clearly settled, whether the one God be three beings in one another, as Dr. *Scot* seems to imply, or one only single being.

Mr.

Mr. E. in his *Humble Inquiry*, gave direct occasion for doing this, when he blames the Trinitarians for their scandalous divisions in this point, as not being agreed whether they worship *one* or *three* infinite minds or beings, which Mr. B. more subtilly, than candidly, forbears to take notice of, and would not so much as venture to transcribe it into his answer; it is, it seems, so tender a point, and so hard to deal with. This is what they would have to pass as hidden under the pretence of mystery, not to be discovered, which some think is in effect to say, that it is a dark mystery, whether *Paganism* or *Christianity* conceives the rightest notion of the divine Unity. Must this, then, be a moot case among us? Shall *three infinite Spirits* be so creditable a cause, that Mr. B. and others, modal Trinitarians, make no scruple about Christian communion on that head, while such an out-cry is raised against the *Unitarian* defenders of the Father's supreme deity? The numerous *Pagan* deities, all of one race and descent, and having the like properties, might be accounted one God, according to this notion of a specific Unity of three Spirits in one.

In vain do the Trinitarians attempt to prove Christ the supreme God, from his having divine properties like those of the Father, (in which, however, they fall greatly short) while they leave unanswered those full proofs which manifest him to be *another being* from that underived self-existent *Father*. This is a clear proof, *a priori*, that he is not the supreme first cause or being; and it is not enough to bring in a few arguments at a back door from uncertain consequences and properties against such plain demonstration. While, therefore, it is not settled among the Trinitarians themselves, whether Jesus Christ be the *self-same mind* or being with the Father, or
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only *another such*, it must remain unsettled, whether he be the most High God, or only one having a near resemblance and likeness to him.

Now tho Mr. B. labours under great confusion in this point, yet since he seems to be for the *numerical* Unity of the divine essence under three modes or relations, and has more positively declared it elsewhere, *viz. in his representation of Mr. E's case*, I shall proceed with him on that supposition, and endeavour to show that Jesus Christ is *another being*, or spirit from *the Father*; and consequently if the Supreme be but one single being, then he, who is *another* from that supreme being, cannot be HE.



General



General REMARKS on Mr. Boyse's
Vindication of the true Deity of
our Blessed Saviour, &c.

CH A P. I.

*That God and his Son Jesus Christ are two
distinct Beings, the one underived, the
other derived.*

SINCE Mr. Boyse and other Trinitarians are ashamed expressly to stand up for two distinct equal Gods, or two infinite supreme Beings or Spirits, and pretend to hold no Deity of Jesus Christ but what consists with the numerical unity of the divine Being; it follows, that if it can be proved from Scripture, and just reason, that the Father and his son Jesus Christ are two, tho' not divided yet distinct Beings, then all their arguings and windings, in maintaining the supreme Deity of the Son, are but erroneous perversions of Scripture, and the crafty devices of subtle minds without just ground. I shall therefore essay to prove that God and his son Jesus Christ are two distinct Beings, or, which is the same, two persons, in the proper and vulgar sense of that word, as when 'tis said of two angels or men. By the supreme God I think all the considerate part of mankind are agreed, is meant, the first

first original Being, and the first Cause of all other Beings. This is imply'd in calling him the *Father, of whom are all things.* 1 Cor. 8. 6. Eph. 4. 6. And the most certain way of proving a Deity, against Atheists, that I know of, is by tracing things to a first independent cause, which itself had none. So that I take it for granted, there could be no proof at all of one infinite God, if we could not prove by just reason, that there must necessarily be a first independent cause, which is H E. And if I could only trace things to such a Being, (as Jesus Christ is allowed to be) as is derived from another cause, I should be never the nearer to the finding out, or proving the true supreme God; because there might be innumerable steps, for ought that would appear, beyond such a Being, before it came to the first cause, if we only go upon reason.

Accordingly, when Jesus Christ is set forth unto us under the character of the Son of God, to whom the Father has given being, life and power, &c. and teaches him as a master his scholar, *John* 5. 19, 20, 26. and one by whom another, *viz.* the Father, has created the worlds; *Eph.* 3, 9. *Heb.* 1. 2. and who has also begotten him; I think no considerate man can take up here, and say, I have found the supreme independent Being, or the first Cause of all. For since he is but a Son, this tells us, he is derived and depends upon another; and if I can never find other than such a Being, I can never think I find the first cause, which I am in search after. So that to prove such a being as Jesus Christ is said to be, will never prove a Deity to mankind, and consequently not that God which men are inquisitive after; since in him we cannot take up our final rest, or satisfy our rational inquiries after a Deity. And

And I am so well satisfied, that self or unorigination, independence and first causality, absolutely taken, are the peculiar characters of the infinite God, that perhaps 'tis hard to shew there are any others, by which he should necessarily be distinguished from all inferior Beings, but these and such as are imply'd in them. It may be queried, Whether unlimited (I mean it of a limitation by any second cause or created object) power, wisdom, &c. may not possibly be communicable to some other Being; but 'tis beyond all question, that to be absolutely the first cause of all, and wholly independent, can be the character of none but the most high God. Therefore no characters given to Jesus Christ can prove him to be that one supreme God, if these be denied to him. For if there should be any other characters of the supreme, supposed to be incommunicable, and yet in some sort apply'd to Jesus Christ: yet if it be apparent that all the perfections of the supreme are not found in him, nor these which are most evidently and indisputably such; then he cannot be deemed the most high God, who has not *all* perfections in him, nor *any* independently and of himself.

2. Now, 'tis not to be doubted, that Jesus Christ has all along been denied to be a self-originate or independent Being, or to be *αὐτοθεός*, God of himself. It were easy to bring a vast heap of testimonies of this matter from the Trinitarians, but 'tis enough to consider that current article of the common faith in the *Nicene Creed*, viz. That he is *God of God*, by which 'tis not intended to say he is God of himself, but quite contrary, that he is a derived God, and to distinguish him thereby from the Father, whose character alone 'tis to be God of himself, and whom none durst call *God of God*. So that if
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any will assert Christ's essence to be underived, or unbegotten, and without a Father as to his Deity, he does not only contradict the Scripture character given him so often, *viz. the Son of God*, but he must also own that he goes off from the current testimony of the Catholic Church, in all ages, and must cease to boast of the antiquity and universality of his faith in this great point; as is abundantly shewn by Dr. Whitby in his Comment, and Dr. Pain in his letter of defence to Bp. R. &c.

Nor can any account be given of the Son's derivation from the Father at all, if it be not in his very essence and nature that he is derived. To say, that he is derived as *Son*, but not as to his divine nature, will not help; for the relative property of *filiation* is no more derived from the Father, than the Father's relation of *paternity* is derived from the Son; and as a Father he depends as much on the Son for that relation or mode of subsistence, as the Son, *qua talis*, depends on him. If the Son must suppose a Father, the Father as necessarily supposes a Son, to make him so. Thus the Father will be as much derived from, and as dependent on the Son, as he on the Father. And then this derivation, as to the mode of subsistence, will be no distinguishing character of the Son at all, where the dependence is mutual and equal. And how then will they make out Christ's sonship, if he be no more derived than the Father is, *viz. in his mode of subsistence only*, and be not at all derived as to his divine essence?

But with Mr. B. I have no dispute as to this matter, since he so often grants that the Son's divine nature is communicated to him from the Father, (not the *personality* only) and that he has his essence from God; see p. 80. of his *Vindication*,

tion, &c. in answer to the *Humble Inquiry*, and elsewhere he tells us, that *he emanates* from the Father *necessarily*, whereas creatures are but *voluntary* productions, which he seems to make the great difference between him and creatures p. 70.

Now, upon this one point, I am ready to join issue with him, and fear not to prove the Father and his Son to be two Beings; for the essence of the one is self-originate and *underived*, but that of the other is *derived* (that is to say, is not underived, nor self-originate as the other) so that direct contradictory things may be said of the two, which cannot of the same numerical uncompound-ed essence.

I would fain know on what rational pretence any man can impose such a seeming absurdity on my belief, *viz.* That a Being absolutely *underived* as is the Father's, should be the same as one wholly *derived*, as is the Son's, or that a Being which has no cause, should be the same with one which has a cause, prior to it in order of nature. This is to say, that the same Being is, and yet is not the cause of the self-same Being, which is, and yet is not at all caused. I am sure if these things are to be made out, it must be with a stupendous human subtilty, and not with the plain simplicity of the Gospel. These are mysteries too great to be imposed by human authority, and yet there is no other as I can find, whatever is pretended. To say the Son's derived Being is the same Being as the Father's, is, in effect, to say, that God the Father's Being is derived; as it most needs be, if the Son's being is his, and I wonder of whom 'tis derived.

Besides, 'tis utterly inconsistent with the supreme Being, or first cause of all, to be derived itself. 'Tis a contradiction, because this supposes a former cause to be before the first cause, and so

the *first* cause is a *second* cause. And indeed Mr. B. only styles Jesus Christ the first cause of other Beings; intimating, that there is another who is the spring or cause of his own Being, viz. the Father; so that he is not the first cause absolutely, tho he takes him to be the supreme Being: he is, with him, the chief Being, and yet is a derived Being, i. e. he is a *derivative* supreme God. This is pretty hard; but yet to be a supreme God, derived by emanation, is still worse: for this supposes him to flow from, or stream out of the Father, as the word imports. And methinks, 'tis something hard to conceive, that the Father's essence should flow out of himself, into his Son, and this too his whole essence. The sun may emit part of his body in beams, but to emit its whole mass, out of itself, and yet to remain whole in itself besides, is pretty strange. It matters not at present, whether the emanation be voluntary or necessary, (Mr. E. had not asserted either, nor will Mr. B. help his cause by taking his choice) so long as the Son derives his very nature and essence some way. I am well assured there is a supreme Being, which cannot without great reproach be accounted a *derivative*, or have a father and a cause; and if Jesus Christ be not such a one, I must look for another beyond him.

Mr. B. frightens himself with an absurd dream of his own fancy, viz. a *made self-existent God*, p. 32. (which Mr. E. never gave the least ground to think of, if it be intended of the supreme God, as it must if self-existent) only because Mr. E. spake of his being *made Lord* and Christ, and *anointed God* over all, Heb. 1. 9. when as he had expressly said, that he used not the term *God* in the highest sense, i. e. not for the self-existent Being; and therefore 'twas a very

very weak and unjust suggestion in him to insinuate that Mr. *E.* introduced a *made self-existent God*, when he had so fully intimated that he was not self-existent, who was a *made God*; nor are they necessarily connected. But since himself pretends that Jesus Christ is the *supreme God*, which necessarily imports a self-existent Being (by his own arguing) how can he be so unaffected, as not to start at his own monstrous notion, of a derived original, or a dependent independent God, or a second first cause, or a begotten self-existent Being? Methinks here is something justly charged upon him, which is altogether as terrible as his groundless fancy about a made self-existent, only that 'tis natural to overlook the deformity of our own offspring. If Mr. *B.* will deny Jesus Christ to be self-existent, he will find it a hard task to prove any one to be supreme God, who wants that divine perfection. And besides, if Jesus Christ's being called by him *the supreme God*, does not imply him to be self-existent, pray why must it be inferred from Mr. *E.*'s calling him *anointed or made God*, that he set up a made self-existent God? Mr. *B.* will hardly be able to clear himself in this point. In short, then, a self-existent God, and a derived God cannot be the same; an independent Being, and a dependent Being, must not be one and the same, lest it frighten others as well as Mr. *B.* with the absurdity of a derived original, or a second first cause of all. It is necessary then, to avoid contradiction, that they be two Beings.

3. 'Tis further evident from the *different parts* which the Scripture ascribes to the Father and the Son, which Mr. *B.* with others, assign to them, that they are not the same single being; because those several parts do necessarily suppose and require the exercise of two *minds* and *wills*. Indeed

one would think, that if the Scriptures are to be understood as other books are, according to the wonted use of words, the very relations of a Father and a Son should imply two real persons or beings. I know, indeed, that of late some have turned the doctrine of the Trinity into a *mystical* allegory of *three modes*, and relative *properties* in the same one being, or *person* taken properly, and in the vulgar sense; or of three *immanent* acts, or essential attributes, *viz.* life, intellect and will: but whatever be the *ecclesiastical Trinity*, I imagine few of themselves can ever believe that this is the *Scripture-Trinity* of Father, Son and Spirit, mentioned in the Gospel-history. And I dare say, neither *Sabellius*, *Arian*, nor *Socinus*, nor any one of their followers, would ever deny this of the most High God, *viz.* that he had life, wisdom and will, or self-knowledge and complacency, or that he might be consider'd under such various modes, as our modal Trinitarians speak of. But as this will reduce the *incarnation* only to an inhabitation of the whole Deity in the man Christ Jesus, (for how can a mode or act be incarnate but by its subject, or the subject be so, and not with all its modes or acts, which are inherent and inseparable?) which Mr. B. and others have vehemently declared against, as too mean a sense of the incarnation of the Son of God; so it seems plain to me, that if the Scripture speaks not of proper persons in all it says of the *Father* and *Son*, it is not to be understood according to the familiar and current use of words, since none can describe two distinct persons or beings, to the common apprehensions of men, more fully than the Scripture does describe *them two* for such. And for ought I see, another may shortly, as well, allegorize the Gospel-history of Christ's miracles and passion, much more his incar-

incarnation, as these men do the Gospel-account of the Trinity. What! does the Father first beget his Son, and then covenant with him, and after send him down into human flesh; and do the Father and Son both send the Holy Spirit; and is all this nothing but a transaction of three modes in one and the same mind? Are these only the inward immanent acts of the divine mind itself alone? Is it the Scripture meaning, that the Father sends down his reflex wisdom and self-complacency? or that one mode or act sends another? or the divine nature itself, under one mode, sends its ownself under another mode? Is it *he, he, he, we, and they*, and yet no more intended by all this but only the same single mind, that *thinks*, and *wills* and *acts* within itself? Where have they found this mystical key, this *Ariadne's* thread to lead so happily thro this dark labyrinth? For my part I see not, but men may as well boldly coin Scripture, as invent such an unnatural interpretation, without any instruction from God. I am loth to think the Christian church has been so wicked as to pretend a mighty mystery in the Trinity, and yet indeed none at all; as, indeed, in the *allegorical* or *modal* Trinity, there is none at all, but what is purposely made by artificial unnatural expressions about it; 'tis a mystery of *words*, not of *things*, which, when explain'd, is none at all. Behold the issue of all this controversy! God knows and loves himself; and this is the meaning of the *Father's begetting a Son and Spirit*.

How shall I think that the Christian church, and its rulers, the makers of the common people's *faith*, their *creeds* and *liturgies*, have so long been in such a fatal conspiracy against Christianity, and the souls of men, as by such extravagant terms and phrases, so seemingly inconsistent

sistent and absurd, to lay snares for precious souls, to draw them into *Polytheism*; and stumbling-blocks for infidels, to scandalize, and harden them against the true Christian religion, as they have certainly been, by taking their doctrines of the Trinity, and the incarnation, in the most obvious sense of their words; when it seems they designed only to make an appearance of an absurd faith, in outward words, while, in real intention, 'twas quite another thing!

I would fain know of them, who are for the allegorical interpretation of three modes, if one might not by such strain'd interpretations make *Homer* himself appear to have a divine meaning, like the inspired writers, not to say the *Alcoran* it self. And wherein is this better than the Heathen Oracles (as to their dubious meanings) thus to wrap up plain Articles of Faith, constantly in obscure metaphors, without so much as once speaking of them in the natural and plain style, and this in a fundamental of Christianity? Nay, when the great danger of Polytheism and Idolatry (which the Gospel was to overthrow) was so much against representing to men three objects of divine worship, while indeed there was but one; which had been far better prevented by saying, one Being and three Modes of it; than by setting them forth as three distinct persons, as distinct and compleat as any three men are ever represented. To what end was this, to speak always of them in this dialect, *we* and *they*, *I* and *thou* and *he*, while all was but one single he? And yet we never once have the key given us (as in the very ordinary parables) to explain this mystical riddle by? It seems to me a most unaccountable thing, that any should be serious in pleading for a Trinity of *Modes*, as the Scripture Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Ghost; which seems at first to have been

been only a scholastic device to afford a dark retreat for hiding a defeat, or at least for an escape by the favour of such a thick and unintelligible mist. No wonder if the *Realists* so expose the *Nominal* Trinitarians among us, as they have done, while the truth seems to lie between them.

All the proofs that are brought from Scripture for the Trinity prove them to be three Persons, in the common and strict sense of that Word; all the common systems prove them to be three, by such personal properties and acts, as plainly shew them to be three persons in the ordinary sense: But now when they are urged with this, that this will make *three Gods*, they would retreat, and say that they intend not *such persons* in the vulgar use of that word, (that is, such as they have proved them to be) but something *infinitely different* (says one of the Trinitarians:) not considering that this evacuates all their arguments, from the personal notes ascribed to them, which only belongs to persons in the vulgar sense, and not at all to modes and immanent acts, *fine.* which are no way proved by those arguments. Thus they do and undo in the same breath, while after all their laborious proofs of three persons in the Deity, they make it to evaporate into a thin *Allegory* of three modes and properties of one person. If three persons in the proper sense cannot be one and the same infinite *God*, then if it be proved that Father, Son and Spirit are three proper persons (as all their proofs tend to this) it follows, that they three are not one and the same infinite God (so say the Unitarians) but they are one God, and the Son of that God and his Spirit.

However 'tis evident this cannot be Mr. B's sentiment, if he speak consistently (tho he can sometimes talk of his *modes*, for a shelter and refuge at a non-plus.) He is only for a Trinity of *Somewhats*, or of three he knows not what: he professes to mean but one *numerical* Being or divine Spirit;

Spirit; but yet his explications and arguments will imply *more*, in his ascribing such different parts to the Father and Son; he allows that the Father communicates an *essence* to the Son, and he receives it; also, that he gives *power* and *authority*, which are essential perfections to God; he not only affirms the Son to mediate with the Father, but that the Father devolves for a time all the exercise of his original power of ruling the world on his Son, p. 88. and that this was solely entrusted in his hands. That the Father sustains the place of supreme Law-giver, and the son that of Mediator. So that he could not find a fitter simile to represent his conceptions by, than that of two men (a Father and Son) possessed of the same sovereign power, one of which deposes the rights of sovereignty in the other's hands, and becomes a mediator with him. Thus he speaks, p. 26. for an illustration of Christ's mediation with God, and yet being God himself. Now this were the most insignificant instance in the world for him to use, if he count the Father and the Son to be the self-same Being; for to what purpose does he tell us how *two* Beings may act those *two* different Parts, which is easy enough to conceive, when all the question only is, how the *same* Being can do it, or be mediator with itself? He was aware that here was the difficulty, which makes him judge it needful to assert, that this was consistent with the Father and the Son's being both the same God by nature. He seems to have a great suspicion that men would conclude, that these different parties must be two Beings, and therefore obviates it with a bare assertion to the contrary; and that will serve some people as well as if he proved it, which he can hardly pretend ever to do.

For

For I would fain know how one single Being can be supposed to act those various Parts, which require two distinct *Minds* to the acting of them? The Father sent the Son into the world; what! is it the same Being that sends itself? or did it only send one of its *modes* and properties down to earth? or rather, did he not send another Being dear to himself? Again, the Father gave life and power to the Son; what! did the same essence make a grant of power and life (which are essential perfections) to itself? for a bare *Mode*, or Relation, is no capable subject of these. Sure communion in giving and receiving is ever between two at least: proposing and consenting, or covenanting together, and such other acts as sending, and going, &c. do necessarily imply *two wills*, one complying with the other. *I came not to do my own will, but the will of him who sent me*, says Christ, *John 6. 38.* Can any words more directly signify *two wills*? Can one offer sacrifice to another (as does the Son to the Father) and yet both the offerer and receiver be the same thing? Are they not always two parties? Is not here two wills, where *giving* only belongs to one, and *receiving* satisfaction only belongs to the other; that is, one gave and did not receive, the other received but did not give it? In the acts of mediation (to which they say the divine nature concurs) does the Son come between the sinner and no other Being but himself? Does he not come between the Deity and him? Is he not a mediator between all, that is supreme God and Man? Mr. B. owns that the Father *sustains* the character of *law-giver*, and not of *mediator*, and the Son that of *mediator*, leaving the other to the Father only: Now, I ask, is the same being lawgiver, who has quitted that part? Does the same mind and will mediate, who disowns that

that office? Mr. B. owns the Son of God to be in *subjection* to his Father, from the last cited text, p. 27. He would fain, indeed, understand that text of his *human nature's* subjection; but how can that be, if he will not allow that to be the nature that did *præexist* to his birth and incarnation? Did the *man* Jesus Christ come down out of heaven, before he had ever been there? Thus he trifles a while, but then suspecting the weakness of this would be observed, he makes a supposition of the *eternal Word's* being here spoken of, but yet that it might still have the same will as the Father; that is, the same individual *numerical* will, and not only *by agreement* one and the same. How can that be? Is the will that he denies he came to accomplish, the self-same as that for accomplishing of which he affirms he came? And if we take it, as he would violently turn it, *not only my will, but my Father's also*; yet surely, that will undeniably imply two wills of two proper persons: for else, according to him, the same individual will is absolutely supreme, and yet subordinate or that 'tis *under*, in the same affair, where 'tis *over* all. But besides, I would fain know where is the subjection manifested in those words (which was certainly intended) according to Mr. B's paraphrase, *viz.* to say that he came to do that will, which was his own indeed, (tho he says it not) but not only *his*, but his *Father's* also, if it was as much his, and as much the supreme as the *Father's* (as it must be if it be the same :) then he came as much voluntarily as by the Father's direction; and according to this sense, he might as well have said, he came not to do *his Father's* will, but his *own*; that is, not to pursue any particular will of his Father's, which was not his own will also. Nay, at this rate, one might say, that the Father did not seek his own will,

will, but that of his Son, whom he sent, because it was not his *only*, but the Son's will *also*.

Again, he talks much (with some others also) of an œconomy, *i. e.* of an order and method agreed on (as far as I can understand it) among the three persons (or rather three modes) of the Trinity, one agreeing to take one part, and another another part, as an act of choice. p. 24. And would he make us believe that all this covenanting and mutual consenting, can be in the same one will of one Being? Is not mutual consent always of two wills at least? The truth is, he and others write and speak as if they were loth to own more infinite *minds* than one, (for fear of *Paganism* being charged on them, which I suppose would disoblige some friends;) and yet they cannot forbear insinuating what implies *three* divine *Wills* and Understandings, which is the same as three divine *Minds*, or three *Spirits*: for what is a spirit, or mind, but a principle of intellect, will and life?

Now, tho I grant that the great and infinite God is not limited in his operations, as men are, and that his understanding and will can act more and more parts (may I so speak) than two, or two millions of men or angels can; yet at the same time, it must be granted, that while he has but *one* will and mind, it will not be thought possible in the nature of the thing, that he should act such various relative parts, as necessarily imply and require *two* or more distinct wills; which is but the same as to say, that he cannot sustain *contradictory* parts: he can act infinitely beyond two Angels, but cannot, as they, be distinguished into two spirits, while he is but one. Therefore, to talk of œconomies, and covenants, of sending and being sent, &c. nay, of contradictions, *viz.* being incarnate and not incarnate
at

at the same time, and all in the same single Being, is most absurd: just as if a King who sustains also the person of a *General*, should send away the *General* into a far country, but not go himself, when 'tis the same man is the King and the General, tho under two modes of subsisting, to use the terms of art, for this is the very case before us; Jesus Christ came from heaven by a local descent, into this world, as is plain from the primitive Fathers, and Scripture too. *John* 6. 38, with 62. *Cap.* 16. 28. *Eph.* 4. 9, 10. And indeed what is more current in the mouths and writings of our Divines, than the Son's leaving heaven and glory; and the Father's parting with him for us, in order to his incarnation? What does this mean but that they are two Spirits distinct from one another? How is the Son's Being sent, and not the Father's, if the Father's Being be the Son's? These things seem fully to prove they must be *two Minds*, from these different parts assigned to them, that are inconsistent and contradictions in the same one single Spirit.

4. This will also further appear from their inequality in dignity and glory, and in essential perfections, (and this decides the great point in controversy,) I believe none that ever bare the name of *Christian* for some hundreds of years after the Gospel appeared, ever pretended the Son of God to be equal to his Father in dignity and glory. Indeed if any man could prove an equality between the Son and the Father, that itself would prove them to be two Beings; so that if Mr. B. should be allowed in his mistaken vulgar reading of that place, *Phil.* 2. 6. against the judgment of so many learned men of his own party, and the known use of the phrase (which instead of *he thought it no robbery to be equal with God*, ought to be thus read, *He did not*
snatch

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snatch at, or *tenaciously claim* an *equality* or *likeness* to God, (as even a *Pasor's Lexicon* will tell us) yet this would utterly overturn the *numerical* Unity of the Being of those two *Equals*, because all comparison is necessarily between *two*, and where there is identity, there can be no equality or comparison. So that to say the Father and Son are equal in power and glory (or in essential perfection) which are the words of the *Assembly's Catechism*, is the same as to say they are equal in essence; which comparison forbids an identity of essence, by saying, the essence of one is equal to that of the other, which is two.

I cannot see where else they can place the pretended *equality*, but in the essence, (which yet the *same* essence will not allow for:) since they pretend nothing more in a person of the Trinity, than the essence and a personal mode, or relative property, it follows, that if they place the equality not in the essence, then they must place it in the distinguishing modes or relative properties, (as indeed there can only be the comparison, where is the distinction;) but this can never be, because the properties are not equal, that of *sonship* is eternally, in its own nature, inferior to that of *paternity*. This Mr. B. owns, p. 24. nor can it be in both together, or in the essence with the personal property; for the same essence under the relation of a *Father* is superior, and more excellent than when considered under that of a *Son*. Wherever there is distinction, there is no equality, but the Father excels; and where there is no distinction there can be none, because there is no comparison.

But I doubt not, it will appear, that as a comparison may be made of the two, so 'tis that of *greater* or *less*, and a comparison of *inequality*, and that not of unequal *Modes* or *Relations*, but of *essential*

essential perfections and glory. I grant there was a god-like, and a sort of divine glory, and power, &c. appeared in *Jesus Christ*, becoming the embassador of the most high God, and his Father, which seems to be intended in *Phil. 2. 6. Iota Deus* (as *Dr. Whitby* grants) and which in his last suffering hours he did not *earnestly* covet to shew; but instead of manifesting that glory, or form and resemblance of God, he concealed it, and like a poor slave or servant suffered himself to be crucified, as if he had indeed been one of their vassals or slaves *. For 'tis plain, the text speaks not of his humbling himself in coming in the flesh, but only of his humiliation in his ignominious death and passion, by the death of the Cross; but that there should be an equality of being, or glory, and perfection in *Jesus Christ*, to God the Father, the Scripture never pretends.

I know *Mr. B.* pretends, when the *Jews* charged him with making himself equal to God, that our Lord *Jesus* owned it, *p. 68.* and pretends *Mr. E.* was partial in taking no notice of the context; whereas I am confident it was from a due consideration of the context that *Mr. E.* concluded *Jesus Christ* did there disown their charge as unjust. I cannot tell whether the *Jews* did really think *Christ* had any such meaning to make himself God, in what he had said: perhaps they did not think so, for he only said God was his *Father*, and that is very different from being God himself. Perhaps they maliciously perverted his meaning. But whether they did so or not, matters not much; the question is, whether the Lord *Jesus* owns or denies that to be his meaning, which they pretended was so? If he did not directly answer to their charge, but let them run away under their malicious blindness, this would not

* See *Mr. Dodwell* against occasional communion, *p. 24.*

not prove that they were in the right, because 'twas usual for him to leave them under such perverse mistakes, as appears, *John* 8. 52. But I think he fully disowns their charge.

M. B. appeals to the context; to that let us go, and see if Christ grants that, which they said, to be true, in saying *he made himself equal to God*. At the first dash we find Jesus Christ says, immediately, *I tell you, the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do*. Is this like owning that he was equal to the Father, when (according to Mr. B's own paraphrase) he says he can do nothing, but in conformity to the example, will, or order of the Father? I think this sounds quite contrary. But he hopes better from the following words, *viz. whatsoever the Father doth, the same does the Son also*. And adds, what creature can pretend to do whatever the Father doth? And that he who says this, equalizes himself to God the Father, as one possess'd of the same essential power. But I think contrarywise, that this is very far from being like to the majestic language of the supreme God, or expressing an equality to him. I easily conceive it agrees well enough with an inferior Being, to say that whatsoever he sees God do, that he does also. In which as *Grotius* observes, our Lord Jesus alludes to a scholar, who learns of his master, by observing how he goes about his art; so Jesus Christ learned of God. And when he says, *these also doth the Son likewise*, 'tis probably intended only of such *miracles*, and the other parts of government, which he mentions afterwards, *viz. in judging the world*, to which office he was delegated by his Father, *v. 22.* and in *raising the dead*, for which his Father gave him power, *v. 26.* But that all things done by the Father, without limitation, are done by the Son,

is not allowed by the Trinitarians themselves; both because the greatest act of the Father, infinitely beyond that of creating the world, is what the Son is never supposed to pretend to, *viz.* his *generating* an infinite Almighty Person or Son. And is he, who could contain in himself, and produce such an infinite person, and give him such a divine nature, no more than equal to one who has no such infinite virtue as this? Sure Mr. B. should never believe it! And also because our Lord Jesus says, ver. 20. That the Father *will shew him greater works than these*, (which Mr. B. more wisely, than candidly, conceals, while he blames Mr. E. for over-looking the context :) so that he intimates, he had not yet been taught to do all things that the Father could do, without exception, no not the *greatest* things. Therefore Mr. B. must at least limit it to external works, in which God may easily enable another to work subordinately to him.

And whereas Mr. B. imagines that his *raising the dead* will prove his deity and equality to the Father, I deny it, unless he can shew that it was not by a derivative power from another, which our Lord expressly owns, ver. 26. For sure to be in a *subordinate* way, an *agent* in that work, will never prove him to be the supreme God. I may here ask our Saviour's question, if none but the supreme God can be concerned in raising the dead, *How do your children do it?* How did the Apostles heal the sick, and raise the dead? and yet they did it by a power from Christ; much more may he do it, who receives more fully and immediately from the Father. And it appears plain that Christ did it *by prayer* to the Father, *John* 11. 41. What did he pray for, but for communication of power to accomplish this miracle? And is this to be equal to God? Does Mr.

Mr. B. believe that God needs to have power *given* him to quicken the dead? or that he can be *instructed* by another what to do? Yet all this is said of *Jesus Christ*; and is there no difference between the giver and receiver, between one, who makes the challenge, *Who has given to me?* and *who has instructed me?* Isa. 40. 13, 14. (reckoning it an unworthy thought of the Supreme) and one who owns, *he can do nothing but what the Father shews him.*

'Tis strange that it should not yet be determined among Christians, whether the supreme God be a *derivative* or *original* being. The question is not whether he be so derived, and dependent as *creatures* are (with which Mr. B. would fain come off) but whether he be *any way* a derived dependent being? For Mr. E. had not said the former of *Jesus Christ*, only that he is in general a derived being from God the Father. Let him be any way a *derivative* being, it seems unreasonable to make him *equal* in glory and excellency with the *original*, so long as he wants the noblest of all conceivable perfections, *viz. self-existence*. While this difficulty is not cleared, 'tis in vain to be picking out this, and t^other particular text, to shew that what is ascribed to the Father, is also attributed, in some sense, to the Son; and thence by a weak and dark consequence to infer that they two are the same being; and so to fetch in the deity of the Son at a back-door, when, *à priori*, 'tis evident that he is a *derived* being; which is a direct proof that he is not the *first cause* of all, which mankind used to understand by the supreme God.

And as 'tis a very fallacious way of proof, from the same thing attributed to two, to conclude them to be the self-same being; so it is easy to shew the weakness of it, in relation to the

text and argument in hand. Says Mr. B. *Since Christ does all that the Father does, he must needs have the same essential power; and what creature can pretend to this?* Now by this way, another will as well prove that the Apostles were equal to, or had the same essence with Jesus Christ; and consequently were Gods; because our Lord Jesus says to them, *John 15. 15. All things that I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you.* And sure (according to Mr. B's way) they must have the same essential wisdom, who can know all that Jesus Christ was made to know; no less capacity could contain it all. But especially from that text, *John 14. 12. He that believeth on me, the works that I do, shall he do, and greater works than these shall he do.* Surely, he will say, no creature dare pretend to do what Jesus Christ does; nay, and that he can do greater things than what he did: sure these Apostles must be equal in essence to him. True, indeed, they had their power from him, and so had he from his Father. So that this way of arguing is but trifling, and most uncertain, as might be shewn in many instances, and will never prove an equality of the Son, against a direct acknowledgment of his inequality to the Father, in his receiving his being, life, power, and his all from him.

There is but one place more where the Jews charge our Lord Jesus with the same crime of equalizing himself to God, *John 10. 30, to 33.* Christ said, *I and my Father are one* (i. e. one, by consent and affection, as Tertullian, Origen, Calvin, &c. say:) upon this the Jews cry, *that he being a man made himself God.* How does he answer this charge? Does he say, 'tis true: *I do make myself God; and so I would be accounted for the supreme God, as of the very same essence with*

with the Father? No such thing, but quite otherwise; he retreats to an inferior sense of the character God, and Son of God, and then justifies his assuming it, in that lower meaning, ver. 34. 35. 36. Jesus answered them, *Is it not written in your law, I said, ye are Gods? If he called them (viz. magistrates) Gods, say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God? q. d. Did I make myself God? or did I assume any more than your law ascribes to men in authority? Are not those styled Gods, and children of the Most High? and yet I, who have a greater commission and authority, than they, from God, have only styled myself Son of God; and ye quarrel with me, as if I had blasphemously equal'd myself to God, when I have assumed no more, than you allow to your magistrates without offence: how is mine blasphemy, if theirs be not so?*

Now let any man judge, whether this was owning their charge, or confuting it as false; or whether he own the character of God, otherwise than by commission, the a greater than that of magistrates and rulers? 'Tis most plain, that he had no mind they should think, that by the words, *I and my Father are one*, he intended any such thing as his being the same God, or equal to the Father. *Cato*, therefore, truly observes, that this text has been abused, in being brought for a proof of the Son's *consubstantiality* to the Father against the *Arians*.

And 'tis plain, that Christ spake not of unity of essence in those words, ver. 30. for if he spake it, was it not that the *Jews* might understand it, or why did he speak it at all? And if they understood it aright, why did he recede from it, and carry them off from the right sense, as 'tis apparent he did? He says not, why say ye of him

who is God by *Nature*, and in the same essence, &c. but why say ye of him, whom the Father has *sanctified*, *thou blasphemest*, &c? He does not justify his being God in the sense they charge him with, which sure he would have done, if he had asserted the same before. But his words plainly imply thus much, that they had no reason to say he had made himself equal with God, any more than the law made the magistrates so: for 'twas no argument of force against their charge, unless he intended to show them, that he did not say, what implied him to be such, as they pretended he set up for.

With so little reason, or justice then does Mr. B. presume to say that Jesus Christ owns the charge to be true, when he so apparently rejects it; being always jealous of his Father's honour, as one *greater than he*, *John* 14. 28. which Mr. B. owns to be said of Christ, in reference to his *Divinity*, so far as to grant the Son's nature to be *derived* from the Father, which I judge enough to prove his *nature*, or *essence* to be *inferior*.

Nor is there any force in Mr. B's argument, p. 24. where he would shew that the Son's being *begotten of the Father*, consists well with his *equality in essential perfections*; and this by the similitude of a common Father and his Son. *A Son*, says he, *is equal to his Father in respect to the human nature he derives from him, but yet is inferior in that relative capacity of a Son*. I say, 'tis of no force to alledge this, because every human Father is derived from another, as much as his Son is from him; but the God and Father of Jesus Christ is derived from *none*, and so has that distinguishing *essential* perfection of *self-existence*, and independence, which the Son wants. So that it both implies *two beings*, when we speak of a
Father

Father and a Son, who derives his being from him; and also, that the *self-originate* being of the underived Father, is more excellent than the *derived* being of the Son, tho a Son may be equal to a derived Father.

Nor is it true, that a Father and Son's essence are always *equal*, tho they be *alike*. Since one man's essential faculties may far excel another's, tho in some common things they agree: as all circles are of one species, and yet one unconceivably exceeds another in bigness and capacity; so why may not an infinite Father beget a finite Son, in other things like to himself, as far as is possible, as well as a *self-existent* Father beget a *derived* Son? For infinity is not more essential to God than self-existence. Nay, if as Mr. B. and others say, the Father does *necessarily beget* a Son, then to *generate* must be an essential property of the Father (for what else can be so necessary to him, as what is essential?) which essential perfection the Son has not; so that *this*, and *self-existence* and *independence* seem to be the essential perfections in which the Father excels the Son; and then 'tis as hard to say they are alike *equal* in essence, as 'tis that they should be the self-same, while they thus differ. A man may say, if he will, that a beam of the sun is equal to the whole sun in *nature* and *essence*; or a drop of water to the ocean: but it would little avail the Trinitarian cause, to say that the Father and Son may agree, and also differ as much as the ocean, and a drop.

And, after all, if it should be allowed to Mr. B. that God the Father and the Son are of the same *species*, as a man and his son, what would this prove, but that they are *two* infinite beings of a kind, or a *family of Gods*, Father and Son, &c? Would he not abhor this? and yet his

simile can signify nothing else, that I see. 'Tis easy, indeed, to conceive how there may be some *equality of essence* (yet not without subordination) in *two* such beings, but not at all in *one*, and the same; or there may be a full equality in perfections, between two derived beings, but not between a *self-originate*, and a *derived* or dependent being.

Nor does the character of being *God's only begotten Son*, imply our Lord Jesus to be of the same essence. That expression, no doubt, implies his pre-eminence in the Father's love; as it doth, when *Isaac* is styled *Abram's only begotten*, Heb. 11. 17. tho' *Abram* had other sons, but none so dear to him. And allowing the expression to refer to his peculiar manner of production, yet the *Arians* grant all that, in supposing him to be produced from God *immediately*, while all others were produced by *Jesus Christ*; and so are but his Sons at a distance, he only being his genuine and dear Son.

So that it no way appears, that ever *Jesus Christ* made himself equal to God; or rather I may say, as *Lactant*, l. 4. c. 14. *Nec unquam se ipse Deum dixit, quia non servasset fidem, si missus ut Deos tolleretur, et unum assereret, induceret alium præter unum, &c. i. e. he taught that there was but one God, and he only to be worshipped; nor did he ever say that himself was God, because he had not been faithful, if being sent to take away a plurality of Gods, and to assert there is but one, he had introduced another (i. e. himself, for so he must mean) besides the one.*

To shew it yet more plainly, that the Son of God is not equal in glory, and essential perfections to the Father; let it be considered seriously, if it would not have been a reprobach, and injurious blasphemy, as well as an error, to say those things of the *Father*, which, with great honour,

are said of the Son. Mr. B. knows the ancient Trinitarians all along deny'd, (as does himself also) that the Son was *αὐτοθεός*, or a *self-originate God*, (and it seems strange, that he should be supreme God, who is not such) which yet is an essential perfection of the Deity, or first cause, and is freely granted of the Father, who would be extremely lessened and reviled, if this were denied of him. His great friend Dr. *Whitby* does expressly own the Son to be derived from, and dependent on the Father, as to his divine essence, and so is God of God. And he shews that thus the *Antenicene* christian Fathers (as others also) believed. See his *Comments on Mat.* 19. 17. *John* 7. 16, 17. where he tells us truly, that this was their distinguishing character of the Father, from the Son, that he was *Deus super quem non est alius*; or a God that had none above him, which the Son had, and therefore that some things, too mean to be said of the Father, might yet be said of the Son. And again, on *John* 16. 28. That the divine nature of the Son is received dependently from the Father, and therefore that the Father is greater than he, which is our Saviour's own doctrine; and that not merely from being first in order, but that Doctor gives a better reason for it, because, says he, *'tis a more blessed thing to give, than to receive*, which is Christ's own maxim, *Acts* 20. 35.

Now I ask if it would not be a vilifying reproach to the great God and Father of our Lord Jesus, to say that he is *derived* and dependent on another for his being? Would not this make way for the rejection of him as not the supreme, and teach men to look out farther for the true God? It would quite alter our notions of his being, and abate of our esteem. Of this difference, the ancient fathers were so sensible, that

• Justin.
Dial.
p. 180.

Tertullian sticks not to say (speaking of God's coming down to commune on earth, as with *Adam, Abram and Moses, &c.*) How can it be, that the invisible Almighty God, whose throne is in the heaven, that he should descend into the earthly paradise; that he should refresh himself with Abraham under the Oak, &c? One would not believe it, says he, of the Son of God, if the Scripture had not said it; and perhaps it were not to be believed of the Father, tho the Scripture had said it, See *Tertull. cont. Prax. c. 16.* So *Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 2.* So vast a difference did he put between the Father and the Son; so that if the Scripture had said such low things of the Father, he would have forsaken the literal sense of the texts for a more rational meaning (for I suppose that is all he designed in these words) which is much what *Socinus* said in the like case, and what *Protestants* do by those words; *This is my body.* Nor was *Tertullian* the only one who spoke thus.

Now I conclude, that since the Son has a lessening character (compared with the Father) which the Father's excellency cannot bear, or admit, 'tis because he has excellency and glory, which the Son claims not: and he who wants any excellency, must sure be inferior to the Supreme, who possesses all. Verily I know not what men mean by *inequality* in glory and power, if it be not *such*, when one has more power and glory than another, as the Father has than the Son: nor know I when there is a diversity or distinction and *alterity* of essence, if it be not so, when the essence of one is an *original* essence, and that of another is, quite contrary, not an *original*, but *derived* one.

5. In the next place I desire to know, what way any man can prove any two persons, of angels or men, to be two beings, by which the
Father

Father and Son of God will not be also proved such. I dare appeal to any sober reader of the Gospel, if they are not obviously represented as two persons, in the ordinary sense of the words, as much as any two men are. 'Tis the evidence of this has made the current doctrine of the Trinity to be expressed by *three persons*; but now lately, because three persons, in the ordinary sense of it, will infer three beings, and three equal beings will be three Gods; this word *Persons* began to be cashier'd; and now it must be succeeded by *three modes*: and the *Unitarians* are forced to take upon them the task of proving them to be properly persons. And I may humbly desire any man to shew me, how he can prove any two persons in the Gospel-history (who consented in the same interest and design) to be two human beings, so as that it shall not be proved, the same way, that the great God or Father, and his Son are also two, and not the same single being.

What is it that makes or proves *two* persons among angels or men? or that makes two intelligent beings? Is it not *two intellects*, *two wills*, (tho perhaps one by consent) and *two vital powers*? Nothing is more evident than that the Gospel asserts this of the Father and his Son. There are distinct *understandings*, Mat. 11. 27. *The Father knows the Son, and the Son knows the Father.* Distinct *wills*, John 5. 20. *The Father loveth the Son, and sheweth him all things, that himself doth*; which Mr. B. allows to be said of him as Son of God. See John 6: 38. *I came down from Heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me.* This was before he became man, say the *Trinitarians*; so that his own will, and the Father's supreme will were distinct, or there is no knowing what words mean. And they have distinct *vital powers*, John 5. 26. For
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as the Father hath life in himself (without gift) so hath he given to the Son also to have life (or vital power) in himself. The Father's self-originate life cannot be the Son's derived life; 'tis the cause of it, but not the thing given. Here, also, are two selves, one has life of, as well as in, himself, the other in himself, but given of another, and the Son acts in imitation of the Father's doing, ver. 19, which is not, sure, the very same numerical act. What other proof would men desire of two distinct beings, or intelligent agents, unless they had a mind to wrangle and quibble?

And then if they are *two* beings or spirits, either they must be *two* infinite supreme beings, *i. e.* two most High Gods, or else only *one* of the two is the supreme being; and then 'tis no difficulty to say, which of the two is *he*. For however men dispute for an equality, there is none of them all, but, if they were told, only *one* of the two is the most High God, would quickly agree, that 'tis the *Father*, rather than the *Son*; for, indeed, 'tis written in the Scripture as with a *sun-beam*.

6. Finally, let it be here considered, that there is no one passage in holy Scripture, wherein it can be so much as pretended, that the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Spirit* are expressly said to be *one* and the same individual being. The contest between us is not, whether the Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity shall be believed, in its most natural and rational sense, for that I readily and heartily profess. 'Tis evident the *Unitarians* do believe the unconceivable *self-existence* of God, and other immense perfections of the great *Jehovah*, which reason cannot fully explain; and the *resurrection of the body*, &c. They know as well as others how to bow down their reason, with humble veneration, in a ready assent to the uncomprehended

prehended articles of divine revelation: but all the question is, whether the Scriptures declare any such thing, as that *God the Father*, and his *Son Jesus* are numerically *one single being* or mind? The Unitarians think it very hard to have any such precarious (as they judge) and very inconsistent notions imposed on their belief, under the name of *mysteries*, by mere human authority, and under the terror of sore persecution. Convince them, (who have no interest to prejudice them) that these mysteries are in Scripture, and they shall join in proclaiming them, tho' not with fury, but meekness towards them, who oppose.

As for those consequential proofs, from *creation, all-knowledge and worship*, they judge they are so attributed to *Jesus Christ*, as that they fall very short of being sufficient arguments for his *supreme deity*, much less do they shew him to be the *same being* with *God the Father*. We read, indeed, that our blessed Lord says, *I and my Father are one*, John 10. 30. but 'tis not said *one being*. The Trinitarians cannot deny (and some of them expressly assert it) that it may be intended of unity in consent and design. And so of that doubtful text 1 John 5. 7. *these three are one*, that is, says *Beza*, *one in testimony*, or in agreement: as for the pretended difference of the words from those in the next verse, where it is said of the three witnesses on earth, that *they agree in one*, as it is not so in all copies, so it is of no weight, for both phrases signify the same thing, as appears from their use in *Mat.* 19. 5, 6. And there is this strong presumption (besides all the evidences to the contrary, already insisted on) that those phrases do not in the least intend an *Unity in Essence*, both because they constantly note only an *Unity in Consent* in all places of Scripture

Scripture besides; and because our Lord himself declares how he accounted himself *one with the Father*, in quite another sense, than what the Trinitarians plead for, viz. in such a manner as his disciples should be one among themselves; *John 17. 22. that they may be one, even as we are one.* Not one *Being* or one *Man* sure! but one in love, and in the same interest &c. and so the Phrase *in esse* constantly is used of many Beings agreed together, as *1 Cor. 3. 8. he that planteth, and he that watereth, i. e. Paul and Apollos are one.* So that it were a most violent force upon the abovesaid Texts to interpret them in a sense, which the words never have any where else, nor is there any other necessity for it there, but only to favour a disputable opinion.

Nay, I think I may safely say, that there is not such an expression in all the Bible, to signify the unity of *God and Jesus Christ* (tho I don't say but it may be far greater) as there is concerning the unity of *Christians with Jesus Christ* their Lord and Head. *He that is joined unto the Lord*, says St. Paul, *is one Spirit.* I cannot but think, if such an emphatical word had been said of the Father and Christ that they two were *one Spirit*, *ἐν πνεύματι*, with what triumph the Trinitarians would run away with it, as an undeniable proof of an *unity of essence*, and perhaps damning and persecuting any, that should doubt of it. And yet 'tis certain, those words themselves mean not that Christ and his members are *one Being*; much less, is an *essential unity* designed, when the Father and Son are only said to be *one*, without the addition of *Spirit*.

Besides, the Scriptures tell us, that God is *ἑὶς* or *unus*, i. e. one person. *Gal. 3. 19. Luke 12. 29.* And not only *unum*, or one Being, and therefore is no more *alius et alius*, than *aliud et aliud*, tho the Trinitarians

Trinitarians affirm the first, because they would have several *persons* to be one and the same *being* or essence, and make a mighty difference between the *masculine* and *neuter* gender, in the use of these words *unus et unum, alius et aliud*, when of God the Scripture says in the *masculine*, that he is but *unus*, i. e. *one person* according to them. And 'tis so far from truth, that the two persons of Father and the Son, are one single Essence or Mind, that we plainly see in the *New Testament* the supreme Being always speaks of himself in the singular number *I*, and is spoken to in the same manner *Thou* and *Thee*, and is spoken of as *He* and *Him*. In every person he is always set forth in the singular number as but *one*. Now whereas some argue from the plural expression, *Gen. 1. Let us make man*, that several persons are in one God, I argue more justly on the other hand, from the use of the singular number *I* and *Thou*, that there is in God properly but one person. For tho' a single person may, with an air of grandeur and majesty, sometimes say *We*; yet three persons never do, contrarywise, use a lessening manner of expression, so as to say *I*, but always *We*. And sure God, who in the *Old Testament* sometimes speaks plurally, would never in the *New Testament* speak always in the singular number (when 'tis suppos'd, that he intended to reveal the Trinity of persons there, more than under the *Old Testament*, and therefore there was far more reason to use the plural there) if either by such *plural* expressions of old, he had intended to signify *many persons* in his Being, or if there really were many such in him, to be acknowledged by us. And if the supreme Being be but *one person*, then the two distinct persons of Father and Son cannot be the same one single Being.

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In short, the Scripture says, there is but *one God*, and yet that he is a *God of Gods*, and that there be *Gods many*; and it speaks of *Jesus Christ* under the denomination of *God*, but then it follows not that he is that *only one God*. I observe of the Father, that there is but one God, and the Father is *He*, or is that one God, besides which there is no other so great, 1 Cor. 8. 6. *But to us there is but one God, the Father, and one Lord, Jesus Christ.* So John 17. 3. *That they might know Thee (the Father) the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* This is full to shew, that in the sense wherein there can be but one God, 'tis the Father only is he, and that in distinction from Jesus the Lord. But where is it ever said, there is but one God, and *Jesus Christ is he*, or that one God, in that sense which admits no more than one as possible?

Nay, whereas *Jesus Christ* is commonly styled the *Son of God*, we never find the Father styled the *Father of God*, tho he be oft called the *Father of our Lord Jesus*, Eph. 1. 3. 1 Pet. 1. 3. Now if *Jesus Christ* were God, as much as the Father is, it had been as natural to call the one the *Father of God*, as to call the other the *Son of God*: No doubt the Scripture might have spoken thus, if it had not been intended, that only the Father was the true supreme God, and none else so. Indeed the Trinitarians grant that the Father is styled *God*, in a more eminent manner, than the Son; and sure it is because he is really God, in a more eminent sense than he, which overturns all equality. The order of subsisting, &c. which they talk of, gives no more right to the title of God, than it does to the thing: a Son is as eminently styled a *man* as his father, notwithstanding the difference of personal relations, which makes no alteration or difference as to the humanity.

humanity. So if *Jesus Christ* be as much God, as the Father, and of the same essence, then the title of God is not the Father's, more eminently than *his*, and no order or oeconomy among them, can make them to differ in what concerns only their essence or nature.

Now upon the whole matter, I think 'tis very plain that God and his Son are not the same single Being, let them be never so like in many things, or united in will and inclination, which I am not concerned to deny: (Nay, whether the Son be created or not, Mr. E. does not assert, tho Mr. B. makes no scruple of imputing it to him so often without ground.) They may indeed be *politically* one, by joint subordinate Rule, as *Lactantius* explains it, lib. 4. by a Father and Son in the same house, who are called one Lord, because they two are, *tanquam unus, as if they were one*. Thus a sovereign prince and his deputy are one government, yet two men, of different esteem and dignity. And *Justin Martyr* sticks not to call the Son *ἱεραποθέω* in his *Dial. with Trypho*, that is, another God: I cannot see how any man can rationally pretend, against all this evidence, to prove that God and *Jesus Christ* are one Being, only from a few consequences, drawn from Names, and Works, and Worship, ascribed to him, which they judge proper to God alone; which as they are very uncertain, so they may be otherwise accounted for, than by so strange, and, at least, seemingly inconsistent notions. Can any pretend to be absolutely sure, that *Jesus Christ* cannot be worshipped in an inferior degree, that he cannot have the title of a God; that he cannot possibly have all power and knowledge, commensurate to this spot of earth, &c. and all this on a lower account than that, on which it belongs to the supreme

prime Father? Methinks it is much more easy to suppose it, than that God and his Son should not be two Spirits. And I think there are manifest notices in Scripture, that so it is; while the Father is there made the contriver and giver of all the Son's honour, &c. and it seems very presumptuous pride in man, not only to gain-say what seems more rational, than their own hypothesis, but also to damn and persecute those, who soberly judge otherwise. When, moreover, it is beyond all modest denial, that *divers* of the *primitive Fathers* express the *same sense* as I have done, *not one* of them were ever censured in their days, for that which would be damn'd as *blasphemy*, and subversive of Christianity, among even the *PROTESTANTS* of this age.

P. S. The Father and Son's Being are not *one Being* only, for not being divided (as *Peter*, *James*, and *John*) because then God and an Angel, or a man, would not be *two*, because God is not at a distance from them. Nay, then all things would be *one*, and sure Christ's *human* nature is not one being or substance with the *divine*, even tho so united in one and the same *person*, as is said; much less, when Father and Son are *two persons*, are they *one Being* merely for not being *divided*, as Dr. *Waterland* pretends.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

Of a derived Being, such as the Son of God is granted to be.

IT being, as I suppose, proved as to the *Unity*, that God and Jesus Christ are *two* Beings; and it being granted by Mr. B. and others, that the Son is derived from the Father: I come next to consider what they say about the *manner* of his derivation, by which they think to make out his *equality* to the Father, the original fountain of the Deity. In order to this they say, the Son derives his Being by *necessary emanation* from him; and that, tho one derived by *voluntary* production must be inferior to the first cause, yet not so, where 'tis by *necessary emanation*. Let us therefore a little debate the point.

I am very willing to allow our blessed Saviour all the glory, that can belong to a *derived* dependent Being, and the greater it is, the more I rejoice at it; provided nothing be attributed to him, that is derogatory to the Father's honour, nor contrary to holy Scripture; and therefore, as none can be certain, but God may have produced a Being as excellent, as one derived is *capable* of being, or is fit to be, so if he have done it, there will be no reasonable doubt but *Jesus Christ* is he, who sits at his *Father's right hand*, and is next to him in real excellency of *nature*, as he is in *dominion* and *power*. But as to *such* a necessary emanation from the Father, that shall imply an *equality* to him, I cannot see any reason on which 'tis founded. To look a little more narrowly into this hypothesis, let us proceed upon these three inquiries.

1. Whether the supreme God, and Father, can in reason be supposed to be *necessitated* to send forth such an emanation as his Son, because Mr. B. says, 'tis by a *necessary* emanation? I am not forward to yield to so bold an assertion, both because the *Scripture* never affirms it; and moreover to impose such a necessity on the infinite Father of all, seems to me to argue *imperfection* in him: for I consider, that either the Father hath, and is *all perfection* in himself or not; to say that he *hath not* all perfection is to dishonour him, by imputing defects to him. 'Tis, indeed, to *un-god* him, since it makes him not to be the greatest Being I can *conceive*, or form an idea of, if I can imagine one more perfect: but if he be all possible perfection in himself, then it seems absurd to say, that any thing *more* is necessary than *all*. 'Tis a plain contradiction, because if any thing *else* be necessary, then he is not *all necessary perfection* in himself, since there needs more than himself is. But I dare not think so meanly of the glorious God and Father of our Lord Jesus, as to deny him to be absolutely perfect and complete God. To say, as some (Mr. Howe) that *society* is necessary here, seems to argue very gross thoughts of an infinitely blessed Being, as if he were desolate in himself, like to an empty indigent creature; and yet if he needs *society*, why are not 300 persons more eligible than three? I dare not, therefore, be so bold as to say, God is *necessitated* by his nature to produce such an emanation.

Besides, if the Son be a *necessary* Being, either *reason* or *revelation* ought to be produced for it. Now the *latter* says not a word of the matter; and *reason* says as little, if we consider what is meant by a Being, *that necessarily exists*. We are told well by Mr. Sam. Clarke, in his *Demonstration of the Being of a God*, that the only idea we have of

of such a Being, is *the idea of a Being, the supposition of whose non-existence is an express contradiction*, p. 30, [17.] Now none can pretend this to be true of the *Son*; and therefore the same ingenious author owns, that *it cannot be demonstrated by reason, that there doth exist any infinite eternal emanations in the divine nature*, p. 95. [51.] And I wonder upon what *text* this necessary emanation is to be fathered. Who shall dare to say, that the Father's being could not possibly have been at all, if without a Son?

2. Whether there be any such evident difference between *emanation* and *creation*, or whether *necessary creation* may not as easily be proved as *necessary emanation*? I don't see any thing in the word *emanation*, that makes it more excellent than *creation*. All things may be said to *emanate* from God, since he produces nothing with *labour*, and made all without *præ-existent matter*, so that all Beings seem to flow out of his substance by a *mere act* of his *will* and *power*, there being no other *material* cause, tho without any *division*, as there is in *emanation* from *material* things. And what is it for a Being to *emanate* from him, but to *flow out of him*? Which I think notes a *production*, as truly external as *creation* does. I am far from seeing any such mighty signification in this word *Emanation*, as if it were any thing better than the *Arians creation*, only *emanations* are more properly said of the productions of *irrational* and *corporeal* creatures, as of *light* from the *sun*, and *streams* from the *fountain*, which indeed cannot possibly be *voluntary* productions, when there is no such excellent faculties as *reason* or *will* in the cause they proceed from. But *creation* is only the production of a *rational agent*, and therefore *voluntary*, nor is it the *worse* for being so; it may be, 'tis the *more*

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excellent; nor will the calling it an *emanation* prove the production to be absolutely *necessary* in opposition to the *voluntary*. Perhaps, the *divine decrees* may be thought to be by *emanation*, and yet be supposed to be the *voluntary* pleasure of God, tho they are *eternal*.

And, what can be said against *necessary creation*, which may not be said as well against the possibility of *necessary emanation*? I think the *Scripture* is equally silent in both; and as to *reason* I believe it will make no difference. *Aristotle* may be as proper a judge as any other in matters of pure natural *reason*, and he conceived a *necessary eternal creation* of the world not impossible; probably, he supposed it *necessary* for infinite goodness to please itself in rich communications. However, if this be thought an absurd assertion, pray, why is it not as absurd, when we say the *same thing*, only changing *creation* for *emanation*? Is it any otherwise absurd to say, God *created necessarily*, than because this would argue *imperfection* in him to need any thing *beside himself*, and also, as it would imply the *effect* to be as antient as the *cause*, and the like; and does not *necessary emanation* argue the *same defect*? Cannot a creature be *from* eternity, as well as *to* eternity, because it supposes a *creator prior* to it, and does not a *Son's emaning* from his *Father* suppose *that Father* to be as much *prior* to him? for my part I see no difference in the Case. How hard a task is it to prove by bare reason, that the world itself was created in *time* and not from *eternity*? and the weakness of the common arguments used may be seen in Mr. *Clarke's Demonstration*, &c. p. 72. If it be said that God is represented in *Scripture* as *creating from mere will*, Rev. 4. 11. *Thou hast created all things for thy pleasure, or for or through thy will*; I see not that this will avail any thing,

for none can suppose *such a necessity* either in *creation* or *emanation*, as implies exclusion of the divine will, since if there were a *necessity* allowed upon the divine Nature for such an emanation, it must, I conceive, be supposed to arise from the strong inclination of the divine will, or the great *complacency* it takes in such a production, or in such society, and so the phrase *for thy pleasure* is very proper. And if that expression denote an *arbitrary* production, I think those words Col. 1. 19. *It pleased the Father, that in him should all fullness dwell*, do more *emphatically* imply the like; and *Justin Martyr* in his Dialogue with *the Jew* expressly calls the Son *a God*, *by the will of the Father*, i. e. by a *voluntary* production or exaltation: nor does the *Nicene Creed* determine any thing against a *voluntary* production of the Son, but only against a *temporal* one, and against *creation out of nothing*, as other things were created.

3. Whether supposing a *necessary emanation* were granted (without proof) this would serve the turn, for which it seems devised, *viz.* the equality of the Son to the Father? It is for this end, that a *necessary emanation* is supposed, because a *voluntary* production of the supreme God must needs be a monstrous contradiction, whatever we think of his being *produced* or *generated* at all, which others think to be next to it.

But what if it could be proved, that the divine fulness was *necessarily communicative* of itself to another? Will it follow, that this other is *equal* in excellency and *essential perfection* to that from whence it is derived? by no means. If all the difficulty, that attends a *necessary creation* of the world was, lest it should prove every creature equal to its Creator in *essential perfection*, it would not puzzle so very much. I presume not to say, how great a Being God can create or produce

duce by *emanation*, it's no great difference which; nor will I say he *cannot* produce one, that may be infinite, or unlimited, *ad extra*, I mean, whose knowledge and power, &c. may be unlimited as to this creation, for this itself will suppose no more, than that God may put as much excellency, (why not far more ?) and ability into *one single creature*, as he has dispersed among *many*. But I think it is beyond all doubt, and may without any irreverence to the glorious God be said, that a *creature* cannot be produced *equal* in glory and dignity to the *great Creator*. And on the same ground, as this is granted, will an argument proceed against the equality of any *other* Being, which is produced by any sort of *emanation*: and that for this reason, because no *derived* Being can have *all* the excellent perfections of him, who is the *sole original* cause, and is *underived*; it being an apparent truth, that *self-existence* and *absolute independency* are the highest of perfections that we can conceive, and the most certain ground, from which we gather, that *such a being* is *infinite* in his perfections and attributes. For being of *himself* alone, we know that there is *nothing* to limit him, and the same way, that he *is*, he has *fullness of being* unto complete perfection and Satisfaction; whereas if he were *derived*, as the Son is, it cannot appear in the same manner, that he should be infinite, because he were liable to a *limitation* from the first cause, and for ought we know might be *limited*, since he is not of *himself*. And this is the case of the *Son of God*, whose nature and *essence* is granted to be *derived*, and to have a *Father*, from whom he receives it; so that *this Father* may possibly have limited him. Nay, tho *all other perfections* should be allowed to him, yet he must surely want the greatest of all, *viz. self-existence* and *independence*, and consequently want the

the most *certain* evidence of his having other infinite perfections, all which the *Father* hath, and herein excels *the Son* in this essential glory.

Besides this, there is the power to *beget* such a son supposed in the *Father*, which is not supposed to be in the *Son*, which is *another* glorious perfection according to my adversary; and indeed if the *Father* be distinguished as *another person* from the *Son*, it must be by some infinite perfection, which the *Son* has not. And since all that the *Son* is, and hath, is from the *Father*, and must be supposed to have been contained in the *Father*, it follows that *the Father* had all, and more than all, the perfections of *his Son*, by what sort of *emanation* soever he be produced: for suppose it were by *necessary emanation*, yet still the *Father* is the cause of him, as the antients speak, and *the Son* the *causatum*. And shall I say of the supreme God, that he is something *caused*? I do not at all see that a *necessary effect* of a *necessary cause* must be equal to its *cause*, even among *second causes*, much less, where it relates to the *first cause of all*, which can never be *equalized* by any thing *caused*, any more than the *sun* is so by any one of its *rays*.

Nay farther, I am not sure *any perfection* is not *communicable* to an inferior Being, except *self-existence* and what is involved in it, *viz. absolute independence* and *supremacy*. Power and wisdom may be communicated beyond all our conceptions, whilst they still belong in a sense to God only; that is, *originally* and *independently*, as the *first self-existent cause*, or *Father of all*. But we are sure no *created* nor *inferior* Being can be *self-existent* or *independent*: therefore, since this is the most evident *distinguishing character* of the *supreme God*, that differences *him* most from his *creatures*, the most proper and certain way of proceeding in our inquiry, who is this God, ought

to be by these *prime* and *supreme* perfections, and not by those of a *second rank*, as *derived* power, and knowledge, &c. are. He who cannot be proved to be the most high God by these, wants the *most proper* proof of his being such.

But now if we ask for a proof of the supreme Deity of the Lord *Jesus* from this topic, it must needs be granted, that it will fail us, and that this *noblest perfection* of all, which is *incommunicably* peculiar to the supreme, is not to be found in him. He may have all the perfections of a *derived* Being, but what is that to *absolute* universal perfection? The Father only is allowed by Mr. *Boyse* and the rest to be the *fountain* and *original* of the Deity, and has been so all along from the beginning, as they cannot deny; which I have shewed to be *inconsistent* with an *equality* in divine perfection and glory.

To sum up the whole of this argument: The *Trinitarians* say, that the *Father only* has those eminent divine perfections of *self-existence* and *independency*, and yet that *the Son*, tho he has them not, is *equal* to him in divine glory, because he has the *same nature* and divine perfections. Either this is a contradiction, or the meaning must be, that there are *some* perfections in which they two agree, and which they have in common; and some *others*, which the Father *alone* possesses, and that upon the account of the *former* they are the *same God*, and one *equal* to the other: as if he could be *equal* to *another*, who has only *some* of, but not *all* the excellencies, and not the *noblest* neither which belongs to him, yea, which belongs to his *nature*, as *self-existence* does to God's. Sure it is as good an argument against the Son's having the *same nature*, in that he has not *all the same perfections* with the Father, as it is that he has the *same nature*, because he has *some* of them. Nay, the

the former is much more conclusive for the *negative*, because *diversity* of *essential* perfections in one instance will always prove *two distinct* and different Beings, especially, when they are contrary attributes as *underived* and *derived*; but agreement and similitude, or equality in *some* things, will never prove things to be one and the *same*.

And the same way, by which the *Trinitarians* use to prove *Jesus Christ* to be the *supreme God*, will serve others for proof of the contrary: If they think to prove him the *supreme God*, because he has *some* divine perfections belonging to him, and has *such* a power and omniscience (as they say) ascribed to him, as to the Father: then why shall not the *Unitarians* as well prove him *not to be such*, because he has not *all* divine perfections belonging to him? only herein the *Unitarians* have the advantage, that their premises are not denied, but are indisputably true, and therefore the conclusion drawn thence will be most strong. But it is not so on the *Trinitarian* side, there is no such evidence, that any *infinite* divine perfection, any *infinite* power or knowledge, &c. is ascribed to *Jesus Christ*: their adversaries dispute it, and think that the Scriptures plainly deny it, at least it is beyond any modest denial, that there are many strong appearances of *limitations* to the *knowledge* and *power* of the holy *Jesus*, which the *Trinitarians* are certainly very much puzzled to answer, and that by such violent shifts, and scholastic subtilties, as would prejudice any other cause; which, for instance, may be seen in their comments on *Mark* 13. 32. *But of that day and hour knoweth no one, no not the Angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only.* *Mat.* 24. 36. Let any one but see how little Mr. Boyse has said to the purpose in answer to what was suggested

suggested in the *Humble Inquiry* upon this text *, and I am persuaded he will think it a very disputable point at best, whether *Jesus Christ* claimed infinite knowledge, such as is the *Father's*, so that the argument founded on this must needs be more uncertain and doubtful; and since they suppose the consequence good, if the premises were so, then much more so is that of the *Unitarians*.

* Dr. *Waterland* in his Sermons at Lady Moyer's Lecture, Sermon 7. p. 271. calls Mr. Boyse's account of this text very judicious, to which Mr. Emlyn never thought fit to make any reply; but it appears hence, why he did not do it directly, viz. that what Mr. B. urges, to evade the force of this text, does no way invalidate Mr. E's arguments, and is so absurd, as not to need any reply. And yet if the Doctor had observed what Mr. E. argues towards the end of the *Supreme Deity of God the Father demonstrated against Dr. Sherlock*, he might have seen it was not wholly unreply'd to. However since he thought it so very judicious, it may not be amiss to insert in this place, a further reply in answer, both to Mr. B. and the Doctor, which I find among some loose papers under the Author's hand; to which I shall add another paper of our Author with regard to Mr. B's argument from the *Creation* being ascribed to Christ.

How highly soever Dr. W. thought of Mr. B's exposition of the text above-mention'd, others even of his own side had a different opinion of it, particularly Dr. *Watton*, who esteemed it very weak and begging the question; and therefore attempted to solve the difficulty another way, viz. that none knows, means none makes known. Nay, it is very plain Dr. *Waterland* himself was not a little gravel'd with it, and would have been glad to get rid of it at any rate, as appears by his note in the place above cited in these words: "A learned gentleman has lately attempted a different solution of the difficulty arising from these texts, for which I heartily thank him (tho' he afterwards calls it an hard supposition which this gentleman goes upon)." "I do not dislike the proposing of several ways of coming to the same point; only I wish the Author had been contented with recommending one without condemning another. He may please to consider, that we are upon the defensive only with regard to these two texts, that we prove the Son's omniscience from other texts, and that a Respondent as such can never beg the question." Thus far Dr. *Waterland*, how much like a pleader retain'd on one side of the question! how little like a serious and impartial inquirer after truth!

to the contrary, viz. that he cannot be equal in nature to the Father; whose nature has not equal perfections to those of the Father.

But as to any other unity of essence between the Father and the Son, such as may be between divers beings or proper persons, which is what Dr. Sherlock, and Bp. Bull, Dr. Pain, Mr. Howe, and the Bp. of Gloucester are for, the Unitarians need not be against it; it may be as well among unequal Beings, as those of the same species, I mean an unity of consent; the Son and Spirit being derived from the Father, as the fountain, and so one with him, as the streams with the spring-head by a near dependence. I conclude with one part of the Trinitarians, viz. the Nominals, that there cannot be two infinite Minds, and with the other part (so distracted are they in the point,) that the three persons cannot be one single mind, or spirit. Both which are very true, but one of them is contradicted by each side, and both of them held consistently only by the Unitarians, who hold Father and Son to be two Beings, and but one of them infinite and supreme.



An Examination of Mr. *Boysè's* (and from him Dr. *Waterland's*) Answer to the Objection, from *Mat.* 24. 36. and *Mark* 13. 32.

Mat. 24. 36. *Of that day and hour knoweth NO ONE (ὅδεις) no not the angels of heaven, BUT MY FATHER ONLY.*

Mark 13. 32. *Of that day and hour knoweth NO ONE, no not the angels which are in heaven, NEITHER THE SON but THE FATHER.*

FROM these texts it is argued, that none, who was not the Father, knew that day, and since there was no Son of God, who was God the Father (for it is granted that *one person* is not *the other*) how can it be affirm'd, that the Son of God knew that, which it is here said the *Father only* knew?

Dr. *Waterland*, and Mr. *Boysè* (to whom he refers and from whom he borrows) are sadly distressed, how to seem to evade the force of this argument.

The argument presses hard two ways. 1. By the general exclusion of *all* persons whatever but the *Father*; *none but the Father only*. 2. By the special express exclusion of the *Son*; *neither the Son but the Father*. The general indeed includes the

the special, and was sufficient, but the particular express mention of the special instance, makes it more emphatical as to the exclusion of that person. Accordingly, they insist on two points, by way of answer.

1. That by the *Son* here excluded is meant only the human nature or *Son of man*, as but one part of Christ's person, and not the *Son of God*, the other and chief part.

2. That the exclusive terms *none but* and *only* are not strictly exclusive of *all others*. Now to show the weakness of these evasions, I shall make a few observations, being what I have in part urged long ago, by way of reply to Mr. *Boyse*, in my *Supreme Deity of God the Father, demonstrated*.

I. As to the *first* point, That only the *human nature* of Christ is here intended to be excluded; I reply,

1. That the *Son of man* and *Son of God* are not two, but one and the same subject or person under two names; as the *son of Joseph*, and the *son of Mary*, by the *Jews* opinion of him, did not mean two sons, but one and the same, the son of *Joseph* by the father's side, and the son of *Mary* by the mother's side, so justly by his mother he truly was the *son of man*, and by his father the *Son of God*, as appears from *Luke* 1. 35. *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing, which shall be born of thee, shall be call'd the Son of God.*

Therefore, says Dr. Bennet *, *Christ is God's only begotten Son, as to his human nature, because as truly begotten by God, as we are by our natural fathers; and to the same purpose says Bp. Pearson †, so that it makes no difference, whether our*
Lord

* Disc. on the Trinity, p. 109. † On the Creed, p. 65, 6.

Lord had said *Son of man*, or *Son of God*; and if it had been said, *no not the Son of God*, it might still have been pretended, that he spake of the Son of God only *as man*. So that all this distinction of characters, so much urged by them, is but mere pretence, and they must distinguish again into *Son of God as man*, and *Son of God as God*, if they could find any foundation for such a distinction in Scripture.

But it is plain what Dr. Bennet says ||, That *eternal generation of the Word is not found in Scripture, nor is he called the Son of God upon any account antecedent to the incarnation*. We find not one word of *such a Son of God*, till the *Logos*, or mind (which is a *Logos* in the style of the *Platonists*) took flesh, and was conceived, and born of the *Virgin Mary*, and then he presently became the *only begotten of the Father*, as we read, *John* 1. 14. Nor did the earliest primitive writers speak of any *eternal generation* of a Son, by Dr. *Waterland's* own account *. see *Heb.* 1. 1. Nor did any *Jews* ever think so, *Orig. cont. Cels. Lib.* 2. p. 79. What poor shifts was the very learned Bp. *Pearson* put to, to make out any eternal Son, or any before the *Virgin Mary*, when he offers at *Prov.* 30. 4. for a proof of it. † *Who bath established all the ends of the earth? What is his name, and what is his son's name, if thou canst tell?* and says, || *I will endeavour to find another sonship before he was conceived of the virgin*. If therefore there were no other Son of God but the Son of man, no Son of God ever revealed to us, but who became so by being begotten of God at his incarnation, it is in vain to take refuge in saying, the text speaks of the *son of man*, when they are but two names for the same person, and

|| *Ibid.* 217. * *Def.* p. 135. 2d *Def.* p. 283. † *Ibid.* p. 136. || *Ibid.* p. 107.

as high eulogiums are given him under one character, as under the other.

2. However, the text does not say *the Son of man*, but as if our Lord would cut off all pretences to such cavilling, he says, *the Son* generally, *i. e.* the Son of God the Father; for tho' he had used the phrase *son of man* but a few verses before, he now drops that, and says only *the Son*, which must be the incarnate Word, *Christ Jesus*. But to make it still stronger, there is a general exclusion of all but the Father, *none knows but the Father only*.

II. I shall therefore proceed to consider the second point insisted on, *viz.* That the exclusive terms are not strictly exclusive of all others but the Father. To this I answer,

1. That the exclusive terms are as strictly *universal* as can well be, or as any that I remember are in the whole New Testament on any subject. The exclusion is doubled to show the strength and vehemence of it, it is strongly guarded both before and behind, *none but the Father*; and if that were not strong enough, he adds the Father *only*. If this be not exclusive of all other persons, I know not where to find an instance in the whole bible, that is so; the *one God* is never more strictly guarded with the utter exclusion of all competitors, so that it is in vain to attempt to prove the Unity of God from any texts in the bible, if men can find a gap here, and say these exclusive terms are not strict enough.

2. 'Tis granted by our adversaries, that by *the Father* (who *only* is said to know) is not meant all the three persons, but *the Father singly*, says Dr. Waterland*, *the first of the sacred three*, says Mr. Boyse†. Well then the sense is, *none knows but*

* Serm. p. 133. † P. 100.

but the Father singly, or none but the first of the sacred three only; does this help them at all? Yet they pretend the *Father* is considered only *abstractedly*, without consideration indeed of *God the Son*, but not *exclusively*. Was ever any thing so absurd and senseless? Suppose the *Father* taken abstractedly did not exclude the *Son*, yet surely the term *only* added to the *Father* (abstractedly and singly taken) excludes all but the *Father*, singly taken; and then with what confidence can any say that the words *none but one*, or *none but the first of the sacred three only*, are not exclusive of the *second* and *third*? Besides, the words are not *God only*, which they would have said to be indefinitely used for any of the divine persons, but *the Father only*, which is determinate to one single person.

3. It can't be shown, that the contrary is asserted in any other texts to force men to this straining of the words, it being no where intimated, that our Lord *Jesus* did then in any capacity know that day and hour. His being said by his disciples to *know all things*, proves nothing to this point, since they meant not thereby to equal his knowledge to *God's*; and the like general expression is used of illuminated Christians. 1 *John* 2. 20, 27. *Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye KNOW ALL THINGS*. So *John* 15. 15. *I have called you friends, for ALL THINGS, that I have heard from my Father, I have made known unto you*. See Dr. Bennet on the Trinity, p. 91. &c.

So that without being first possessor of the opinion (under debate) of *Christ's* being the supreme God, and that *the Father is not greater than he*, I think no man would ever dispute the point upon these texts.

4. It is to be noted, that this answer of our blessed Lord to his disciples was in a free private discourse by themselves, when our Lord was not upon the reserve, as he oft was towards others, *Mat. 24. 3. Mark 13. 3. And as he sat on the mount of Olives the disciples came unto him privately, and asked him, When shall these things be?* Why then should any think, that our Lord sought to elude his disciples in this manner; for by this pretended way, he might as truly have said, *Of that day knoweth the Son, as well as the Father.* Think they, that our blessed Lord, that sincere lover of truth, in whom was no guile, was put to as great difficulty in answering their question, as these men are to evade his words? What to his own dear friends, to whom he used to be so open, *All things, says he, I have made known unto you, John 15. 15.* Why should he be shy to let them know the real truth of the case? If the thing inquired after was fit to be a secret, would he not frankly have told them so, as he used to do on the like occasions? *Acts 1. 7. It is not for you to know the times and the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power; or, We cannot bear them now, John 16. 12.* What need of such artful evasions, as of a subtle disputant in the schools upon his defence? So that I conclude with *Ireneus, lib. 2. cap. 48. Our Lord said this to teach us, that the Father was greater than he, John 14. 28.* Not prior only in order of nature, as the origin of him, but greater too; for the like arts are used to evade this text also, and to put us off with a priority, when it is a majority our Lord asserts, else it had not been an argument of such rejoicing at the advantage he received by going to the Father. What advantage would result from a priority only? But first they expound this greatness of a priority of order, and then they explain

explain this *priority*, so as to have no *greatness* in it; the term *Father* shew'd a *priority* of itself, but *greater* was intended to express something more.

It therefore clearly follows, that all such exclusive terms strictly exclude all others, if not *absolutely*, yet *comparatively*, as to the degree of equality, and always imply a *peculiar eminency* above all who may seem competitors. Nor does any of his pretended parallel instances come up to the point; they both † alledge, *Mat. 11. 27. None knows the Son but the Father*, and therefore argue, that by such strict acceptation the Son should not know himself; and so *none knows the Father but the Son* would exclude the Father from knowing himself, says the Doctor; but yet immediately confutes himself by adding, *no man of common sense can think so*: for that very reason no mention was needful, of *knowing himself*, which every person is presumed to do, and the *Scripture*, says the Doctor, *supposes men to have common sense* ||. But yet had it been said, *no not the Father knows himself, but only the Son*, those words would have excluded the *Father's* knowledge, at least in equality of degree. But does *common sense* tell us so in the case before us, viz. that the *Son* must needs know, what the *Son* is said *not to know*, but the *Father only*? Nay, does not common sense teach us the quite contrary?

As to 1 Cor. 2. 2. *I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified*, it means no more, than that Christ crucified was the principal point he desired above all to insist on, and what they most of all wanted to know; or it may mean the whole doctrine of Christ. As to Rev. 19. 12. *He had a name written*,

† *Boyle*, p. 99. *Waterl.* Sermon p. 128.

|| *Preface to Sermon*, p. 49.

written, that no one knew but he himself; the exclusive term cannot exclude the *Father*; for he who gave him that name, *Heb. 1. 4.* cannot be supposed to be ignorant of it: besides it is not said, as in the case under debate, *no not the Father, but the Son only.* The like answer may be given to his other instances. In short, here is not only a *special* and a *general* exclusion of the *Son*, but after a particular enumeration of all, who were most likely to be thought capable of this knowledge, *viz. the Angels and the Son*, here is one single exception made of the *Father*; and this exception is enforced by the restrictive term *only*, as the only one who was not included with the rest; which restriction bars all others from being within that exception: Nothing can express a more rigorous sense of an absolute exclusion of all, but the *Father singly* taken.



A short Reflexion on Mr. *Boysse's*
Argument for the supreme Deity
of *Jesus Christ* from the Creation
of all things being ascribed to
him.

THOUGH it were easy to show not a few defects in what Mr. B. has said in contradiction to them, who interpret the creation ascribed in the *New Testament* to *Jesus Christ* of a moral creation of the whole world, or the introduction of a new state of things; yet my business shall be to show the insufficiency of his arguments to prove the *supreme deity* of the Lord *Jesus* from the *old creation* ascribed to him, and that on the *Arian* principles they are liable to an easy confutation.

The sum of what he has argued may be reduced to these two points: 1. That in the *Old Testament* God challenges it as *his peculiar* to have created the heavens and the earth. 2. That this is a work in *which none can minister*, as the *Arians* assert, in subordination to God.

I. *Creation* is said to be by God alone, as his *peculiar* glory: to which I answer; 1. Let us have the same interpretation allowed here, which the *Trinitarians* take in interpreting *John* 17. 3. and other texts, where the Father *alone* is said to be the true God, or the *only true God*. They tell

tell us the limitation must be taken according to the matter in hand, and so it is only spoken in opposition to other pretended gods of the heathen. Thus argues Mr. *L'Abbadie*, and cites several texts, which must have such a sense, where the term *only* does not exclude all others, but only such as the context refers to, *Luke* 10. 40. *John* 16. 32. So also argues Dr. *Waterland*; the same says the *Arian* on those texts, which say God *alone* created the world, that it is said in exclusion of the *Pagan* idols, not of any subordinate ministers of the true God.

2. It is granted, that God *alone* did create, as he *alone* did so by his *own* power; and as he was the GREAT *master-builder* and director, who justly challenges the glory of it without competitor, or indeed any real assistance, tho he might please to imploy another. It was God's power *only* could do it, he *alone* did the work, tho he might exert his power by the ministration of another: thus God *only* is good, *Mat.* 19. 17. God *only* is holy, *Rev.* 15. 4. tho others also are so by participation in a lower degree; and tho all things are said to be made or created by or through Jesus Christ *δι' αὐτοῦ*, yet the Scripture never styles him the *Creator*, or says that all things were created *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*; but explains in what manner all things were created by him, *viz.* through him, as ministering to the Father. Thus *Ephes.* 3. 9. *God created all things by (or through) Jesus Christ.* And again, *Heb.* 1. 2. *By whom (by his Son) God made the worlds.* But the Scripture never says, *vice versa*, that the Son created the worlds *by the Father*; which yet if he were *equally* Creator, would be *equally* true; and Dr. *Waterland* himself owns, *Second Def.* p. 401. that the work of creation *descends* as it were *from the Father by the Son.*

II. It is said † this is a work of immediate omnipotence, in which there can be no *instrument* employed, because there is nothing to work upon. To this I answer,

1. This cannot be pretended in that creation, which *Moses* mainly, if not wholly, speaks of *Gen.* 1. which is the formation of the heavens, and the earth, and various creatures out of pre-existent matter in the *chaos*, which *Moses* supposes to be prepared, at least it is so in all that is mentioned after the first verse, as appears *vs.* 2. *The earth was void without form*; and then he shews the creation, *i. e.* the *formation* and *shaping* of the particular parts, so he *created* the fish. *vs.* 21. and so he *created* man, *vs.* 27. Now in this usual sense of creation, what impossibility is there of an *instrumental* subserviency? It cannot with reason be pretended. It is true he commanded, and it was done, as Mr. B. says; but to whom did he give that command, but to the *Logos* or word, as *Origen* says ||?

2. Taking *creation* for the *first production* of matter, it seems not impossible, that another than the most high God should minister in it; it is not material whether it be called *instrumentally*, or *mediately*, or by any other name, but I say *Christ might*, and the Scriptures affirm he *did* therein act subserviently or *ministerially* to God the Father *. Perhaps the philosophy of it may confound us,

† Boyse, p. 64. || See Dr. Waterland's Sermon p. 72, 73, 76.

* Dr. Waterland admits, that the Father is *primarily*, and the Son *secondarily* the author of the world, and that the general opinion of the ancients center'd in this, that the Father as *supreme* issued out *orders* for the creation, and the Son *executed* them: Nay he acknowledges, that the Son is sometimes said *ὕπηρετῆν* or *ὕπηρεῖν*, to minister to or work under another, *Defence*, p. 183, 184, 188. and though he says all this was *οἰκονομικῶς*, according to the *oecomeny*, yet let it be *oecomenically*

us, who know not how to talk of the manner of creating, but I may illustrate the matter better by a parallel instance: It is clear in the New Testament, the apostles could and did raise the dead,

economically or any other way, nothing that was done in an inferior character ministerially, can ever be a proof or argument of his supreme Deity. Here, p. 187, the Doctor takes an opportunity of censuring our Author for having said in his Examination of Dr. Bennet, that he knew not that any of the primitive christian Writers ever gave the character of the great Architect of the Universe to Jesus Christ; and with a magisterial air adds, *If he knows not these things, he ought to forbear to speak of them.* One might have thought, that this was expressed very inoffensively, and considering how easy it is, even for a careful observer, to overlook a single expression in such numerous writings, the words *I know not*, might readily be excused; but it is the unmannerly way of some Authors to censure every peremptory expression for confidence, and what is otherwise for ignorance. Had the Doctor imitated our Author's modesty, where he had as much occasion for it, it would not have misbecome him, nor have been less to his credit. However our Author express himself very warily, and the Doctor with all his censoriousness has not been able to disprove him; for though great stress is not always to be laid upon the phraseology of the primitive Fathers, who were not the most accurate Writers, yet the character of the great Architect of the Universe does no where appear to have been given to Christ by any of them. The passage cited by Dr. Waterland from Eusebius does not at all come up to it; nay, if Eusebius may be allowed to explain his own meaning, it has evidently an inferior sense; the words cited by the Doctor, Def. p. 188. from Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. L. 10. c. 4. p. 316. are these, ὁ μέγας τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸς λόγος, this the Doctor translates great Architect of the Universe; but how comes δημιουργὸς to signify Architect? where did the Doctor learn that in all his reading? Architect, (the character applied to Christ by Dr. Bennet, and which gave occasion for the above-mentioned passage in our Author) denotes the head, prime, or chief contriver and master builder, whereas δημιουργὸς signifies only in general opifex, operator or workman. According to Justin Martyr, δημιουργὸς is so far from signifying the same with architect, that it don't come up to the word ποιητής, factor or maker. See Cohortat. ad Græcos, p. 21. where having said that there is a great difference between ποιητής and δημιουργὸς; he proceeds thus, Ὁ μὲν ποιητής ἑδενὸς ἰτέρου προσδεόμενος ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως καὶ ἐξουσίας

dead, so far as to have it ascribed to them, as much as the creation to Jesus Christ; nay Jesus Christ himself did *ministerially* raise *Lazarus*, i. e. by prayer to God, *John* 11. 41. Now I think it may as easily be supposed, that Jesus Christ could *minister* in the creation, as in raising the dead, which also is made as peculiar to God. Life is the noblest part of the creation; and he who can give that a being, may as easily give lower being; for tho it may be said, that life may possibly be restored in a *mechanical* way by a train of natural causes, bringing back the soul into its tabernacle, and setting the vital springs and organs in motion, and removing obstructions, &c. yet I think that cannot be done by any limited power in an *instant*, any more than creation; an *instantaneous* raising the dead with a call, such as that of the Apostles was, seems as miraculous as *creation*, and indeed is rather a creating life a-new, than a mechanical method

ποιεῖ τὸ ποιεῖμενον. ὁ δὲ δημιουργὸς τὴν τῆς δημιουργίας δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς ὕλης εἰληφὼς κατασκευάζει τὸ γινόμενον.
 "The maker, standing not in need of any thing else, makes the thing made by his own power and strength; but the workman (or operator) receiving the power of his workmanship from the matter (or materials) fashions (or puts into form) the thing made." It is true, the words ποιητής and δημιουργός are sometimes used promiscuously, both of the Father and the Son, even by *Eusebius*, who styles the Son ποιητὴν τῶν ὅλων, but then it is very plain in what sense he meant it, for that he not only couples it with δημιουργός, ὁ δημιουργὸς λόγος, ὁ ποιητής τῶν ὅλων, in *Psalms* p. 125. But in other places *Demonstrat. Evangelic. Lib. 4. c. 4. p. 146, 149* he calls him ὄργανον the instrument, and ὑπηρέτηνον, the ministerial agent, and expressly makes a distinction between δι' αὐτοῦ and ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, *Eccles. Theol. lib. 1. cap. 20*. But neither he nor any other ancient Father ever styled him τὸν μέγαν τῶν ὅλων ποιήτην, OR THE GREAT ARCHITECT of the Universe, which is the character, our Author says, he knew not to have been given him by any primitive Christian Writers: And now let the reader judge what reason the Doctor had to censure in that haughty strain.

method of making any return of the former. Now it is not denied, but that the raising of the dead is attributed to the Apostles, at least God did by *them* raise the dead, as it is also said, that by *Christ* he created the world; so that men did some way or other *minister* in this miracle of omnipotence; and tho it cannot be told how they could, or how far they were instrumental, yet I plainly see they are said in Scripture *to do* the thing, and yet not as the first cause: This may be said as well in reference to the creation by Jesus Christ. Let Mr. *B.* answer the objections against this instance of the *resurrection*, and by the same way he may answer them in the other case of *Creation*. *

Further, from this instance also, one may answer his other objection taken from the Creation, being attributed to God *only*: for the *Creation* is not more entirely attributed to God alone as his peculiar, than the *raising the dead* is, 2 Cor. 1. 9. Deut. 32. 39. *I, even I, am he, and there is no God besides; I kill, and I make alive*, 1 Sam. 2. 6. So *emphatically* does he appropriate it to himself, (as much sure, as when he says, *I am he that searches the heart*) and appeals to it as a proof of his godhead; and yet for all this, others are said to have raised the dead: the true and only answer to which is, that God *only* can do it in the *highest* sense by his own proper power, as the *principal agent*; yet others may *minister* in that service, tho we know not the particular manner. If this be well applied by an understanding reader, it will answer the whole of Mr. *Boyse's* argument on this head.

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* Whatever degree of efficiency be allowed to Christ above the Apostles; yet while it is by a *derived* power, *ministerially* employ'd, it can no way affect the argument As to Heb. 1. 10. That it is not to be applied to Christ, but to the Lord his God; see *Enjedinus* on the text, and our author's *Examination of Dr. Bennet*, cap. 3. *sub fine*.

A
VINDICATION
OF THE
W O R S H I P
OF THE
Lord JESUS CHRIST,
On Unitarian Principles.

In Answer to what is said on that Head, by
Mr. Jos. BOYSE, in his *Vindication of the Deity
of Jesus Christ*.

To which is annexed,

An Answer to Dr. WATERLAND on
the same Head.

O Son of David, have mercy upon us. The Liturgy.

He (*Origen*) saith, *We ought to pray only to the God over
all, and to his only Son the first-born of every Creature ;
who, as our High Priest, offers our Prayers to his God
and our God. Dr. Stillingfleet's Idolat. of the Church of
Rome, p. 130.*

VINDICATION

OF THE

WORKS

OF THE

LORD JESUS CHRIST,

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An Answer to Dr. WATKINS on
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Of Unitarian Principles, &c. &c. &c. The Library.
The Author's (Dr. WATKINS) says, only to the God over
all, and his only Son the first-born of every creature;
and a new light, which our Father in God
sent on the world. Dr. WATKINS's Idolatry of the Church of
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The PREFACE.

TIS story'd of king *Craesus's* son, that tho he was by nature dumb, yet upon so great a provocation, as the danger of his father's life his passionate love brake thro all impediments, and at once supply'd him with organs and speech, to forbid the killing of the king his father. Were I never so disposed to silence, yet surely true zeal for the honour of God my *heavenly Father*, and for that supreme Majesty of his, which our Lord *Jesus* always asserted, ought to excite me to plead for the defence and preservation of the *peerless* honour of this *God over all Gods*, against such as fear not to assert an *equal* to the God and Father of our Lord *Jesus*, and to set up *another person* as sharer and partner with him, in the supreme glory and dominion; I say, *with him*, whose prerogative it is, *to sit upon the imperial throne*, before which the Lamb is represented standing, *Rev. 5.* or else sitting but at the right hand of it. So whilst Mr. *B.* in his preface calls on every serious Christian to resent the reproach, which, he thinks, the *Unitarians* cast on the christian religion, by denying the supreme Deity of *Jesus Christ*, he must not wonder, if they take the liberty also, in their turn, with good reason to awaken the sleepy minds of true Christians, to oppose and lament the grievous invasion made by their *adversaries*, on the peculiar honour of *the God and Father of Jesus Christ*; while they will not allow *him*

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him only to be the true God, which *Jesus Christ* reserves so carefully for him alone. *John 17. 3.* So little do they accord with him, whose cause they pretend to plead. So that now, alas, things are come to such a deplorable pass, in these days of general *Apostacy*, and partial reformation, that it is become most needful, and yet not so safe, to vindicate the true and supreme Deity of the Father, which by setting up another person as equal with him, is dangerously denied.

'Tis but a just charity which a reverend *Prelate* expresses, when he judges that the *Unitarians* would not be so earnest, if they did not apprehend the glory of the Father to be injur'd by the common opinion of the Son's equality to him, who is the God of Gods; he well knows, 'tis not from the least envy at the Redeemer's glory, or any desire to vilify him, that we argue in this cause; no, *To him be glory for ever and ever, Amen*, So be it. But we are really jealous for the honour of him, whose glory our Lord *Jesus* sought beyond his own, *John 7. 18.* and from whom all his is derived.

Who sees not how the Father's honour is lessened by many who pretend seriousness in religion? First, they assign him an equal: from that they do in a sort degrade him into an inferior; having asserted Christ's equality doctrinally, they seem to give him the preference in practice. How frequently do some magnify the love of the Son, in strains more lofty, than when they speak of the love of the Father? And on the other hand, how much more do they (among the *Dissenters* especially) press love to the Son than to the Father; so that a Sermon about, or persuading to the love of Christ (which God forbid my soul should in the least be against, or despise) shall be applauded for spiritual preaching, when one about the

the love of, or to God, will pass for a piece of dry morality, or some low performance.

So it may be observed among the *Papists*, how they have at last not been content with equalizing the *Virgin Mary* to her *Son*, in the business of Intercession, but have set her above him with their *Jure matris impera*, till of late one has dared publicly to preach, in *France*, that *there were four persons in the Trinity, and the Virgin Mary made the fourth* *. This was censured by his superior rather as *imprudent* and unseasonable for the new *Converts*, than as impious in itself. So common a thing it is for men's zeal to exceed towards a mistaken object: and tho I am far from comparing the *Holy Jesus* to the *Virgin Mary*, who among the rest of the heavenly hosts is *under his feet*, and pays adoration to the *Lamb*; yet I cannot but observe, into what errors they run, who not content to honour *Jesus Christ* as the only *Mediator*, do assert him to be the *ultimate* and *supreme* object of worship, and as great as his Father.

Is it not time then, *Christians*, for us to bethink ourselves, what we may do for retrieving the injur'd honour of God? Shall we not call men to consider, whither they are running? And how vilifying soever Mr. B's thoughts are of the late writings of the *Unitarians*, as *subservient to infidelity*, and against *Christianity*; yet it will appear how unjust an accusation that is, by this one consideration: Can there be a greater *Fundamental* of Christianity, instanced in, than that of the *Unity of the divine Being*? Will Mr. B. say, that our Religion does not utterly fall with the ruin and loss of this one article, viz. *That there is but ONE infinite divine Being*? Now let him consider,

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who

* So it seems it was worded, See Mr. *Jurieu's* continuation of the accomplishment of prophecys, p. 105.

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who have done more to rescue this *so endanger'd* truth from the very brink of ruin, than the late *Unitarians*. Were not *Divines* running headlong into *Tritheism*, when so many, and some of the first rank, both among the establish'd *Church*, and the *Dissenters*, did not scruple to assert in print, *Three infinite eternal Beings or Minds*? Were not these mens performances applauded by many, as well as quarell'd at by some? Were they treated as *Heretics*, or grossly erroneous, or so as the *Unitarians* are treated and persecuted? *

Were not the *Unitarians* the men who detected the fatal tendency of these errors, and who set up the cry of *Paganism* coming in again under the name of christian *Mysteries*? Did not their opposition alarm others to oppose also? So that *Tritheism* has in great measure been brought under disgrace by their means; and is this no service to the christian Cause? or rather what service can be greater? Sure Mr. B. if he be true to the *unity* of the divine Being, should have counted *them* the *treacherous defenders of Christianity*, who by asserting a multitude (for so a Trinity is in this case) of divine Beings, gave up the cause to *Pagans*; but he durst not do that, *either* for fear of displeasing some old friends, *or else* perhaps (considering how inconsistent he is about the divine unity) lest it might fall upon himself.

If there were any weight in what Mr. B. suggests, when (after a long excursion about a particular hook of an *unknown* author,) he calls to the author of the *Humble Inquiry*, &c. to see what
sort

* At the time our author wrote, the *Modal Trinitarians* (of which sort Mr. Boyse is to be reckon'd) were the prevailing party both among the church and dissenters; tho' since then, it has taken a different turn, and of late years the *Real, or Tritheistic Trinitarians* have been the more prevalent, among the church especially.

sort of men *he is listed among* ; it were easy enough to reply to it. For what is Mr. *E.* concerned, what *others* write, if it be not agreeable to his own opinion ? or how is he listed with *such*, if not of the *same* sentiments ? Had Mr. *B.* shewed the same things out of *his* writings, it had been *as much*, as now 'tis *nothing* to the purpose : he is not bound to inquire, whether *others* say such things, as he pretends, nor needs be ashamed to own himself an *Unitarian*, if they do.

What if another man should pick out from the *Trinitarian* writers several untoward passages, and should produce from some of them the horrid tenets of the *supralapsarian predestination*, or the *absolute reprobation* of men under a decree of eternal damnation without any respect to their sins ? What if in *others* he find the dismal doctrine of God's irresistible physical predetermination to all sinful acts, making him by consequence the author of all sins ? What if in *others* he finds rank *Antinomianism*, or that the Gospel is no law to believers, binding them to duties as the conditions of pardon and salvation, (which is subversive of all piety, in its consequence) does he think this an hard task ? — And when this is done, he may with as good reason call upon Mr. *B.* to see what sort of men *he is listed among*, and whether they are like to lead *him*.

Nay, to come nearer to the matter, might not one tell him of several *Trinitarians* (such as Mr. *Howe*) who have written for *three infinite divine Beings*, and then bid him see whom he is listed among ? Nay, 'tis certain *he and his brethren* have associated to *such*, more than, I believe, Mr. *E.* to the author he objects to him : for *he*, and *they* were not ashamed to apply with great reverence to *such*, as of their own party, and to communicate with them, whilst they differ'd so widely, as to

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the point of *three infinite Beings*, which Mr. B. accounts too many by *two*, if he hold to the *one being only*, as he professes. Now let him clear himself in joining with such in his devotions; since he imputes it as a crime to Mr. E. Sure he can have no excuse in doing what he arraigns as *criminal* in another: nay, where the case is much worse against himself, because, even in the judgment of the fiercest *modal Trinitarians*, such *Tritheists* are at a wider distance from Christianity, than the *Unitarians* are. See the *preface to the life of Valentin. Gentilis*, supposed to be wrote by Dr. South.

But as to Mr. E. I imagine he may easily justify his continuance so long in a communion, where *one God only* was professed to be worship'd, without any blemish to his sincerity, since he declares he never saw one act of divine *supreme worship* given to *Jesus Christ*. It may be, some might intend it so, but it was not so in its own nature, nor was he ever required to do any thing that he judged, or professed to be so. 'Tis a vain pretence, to think he is bound to have the same sense with others (who do not all agree neither among themselves) with whom he has communion, in all things. Nor did *Jesus Christ* either refuse to join with the *Pharisees* or *Sadduces*, or yet hold the same sentiments, in very important articles of religion. Mr. E. doubted not but the generality of the people intended only to worship the *Father* by the *Son*, as the *Mediator*, not as the *ultimate object*, and this was the obvious and natural strain of their prayers; and doubtless they acted more safely and rationally, when let alone in this way, than since they have been stagger'd and confounded with mystical notions, which they conceive not, but are terrify'd to believe with frightful cries of *Heresy*, and desperate
Anathemas

Anathemas. And therefore he might judge it not necessary either to lay down his office, or to enter on these controversies; but was silent, 'till upon an earnest inquiry from the suspicion of *one*, he thought it became him not to refuse to give a *reason of his Faith*, upon such a call, tho' it was only *in private*, which some thought best to make *public* soon after, with what prudence, or to what advantage, others may judge; only it seems to have been overruled to the promoting of truth, which lay very much out of the thoughts of most there, who 'tis hoped will still be inquisitive in so concerning a point, as the object of their daily worship, and not take all upon human authority.

In all this he acted as the most conscientious men, tho' of just moderation, have judged best. I remember Mr. *Hales* of *Schism* (whose judgment the *Dissenters* so deservedly reverence) expressly says, he could go to an *Arian* communion, so long as nothing of their particular opinion was expressed in their worship; and we have an higher authority for such a temper, in St. *Paul's* advice, *Where to ye have attained, walk by the same rule.* Phil. 3. 15, 16. Mr. *P.* will do well to shew, that no men of different thoughts about the glorious God, or any important article of the *Creed*, should ever worship God together, but that it were better always to divide, and then all christian communion might soon be at an end. For even the *Trinitarians* themselves would scarcely agree even in *words*, much less in *conceptions*, tho' they should in general unintelligible sounds, of *subsistencies* and *modes* and personal *properties*, &c.

I must confess, if what has been oft said by *Dissenters*, that a *persecuting Church* is not to be communicated with, be of weight, it is possible on that score Mr. *E.* might be blamed to continue in communion with *them*: but I presume, the *Dissenters*

of *Dublin* had not formally proclaimed themselves such; and tho *Mr. B.* is not intended to be here aspersed with this unchristian crime, in *Mr. E.*'s case, who does not count him for an enemy, yet he cannot but see, what sort of men *he is lifted amongst*, whom the *Dissenters* have neither cast out of their *communion*, nor from their *rule* in the church: and *so far* they have espoused the cause of *persecution*, and have shewed that they can much better like *persecution*, when 'tis *done*, than when *suffered* by themselves. Such an instance of a persecuting spirit tends abundantly to justify all the persecutions of *France*, where none suffer but under the charge of *Blasphemy*, and *Heresy*, only 'tis worse upon *Protestant*, than upon *Popish* principles; and I am confident, it tends more to harden *Jews*, *Infidels*, and *Atbeists*, than an hundred books, the worst that ever were written.

'Tis a mean insinuation of *Mr. B.* concerning *Mr. E.* *that he having openly espoused his opinions, might probably be engaged to defend them in point of reputation*; as tho it were any doubt, whether he, or *Mr. B.* have taken *most care* either of their worldly *reputation*, or *interest*, by the opinions they profess. Who gets *most*? or who has professed their opinions *longest*, and so is most likely to be rooted in his *prejudices*? I believe by these measures it will be found, that *Mr. B.* is most likely to be under prejudice: He should then have forborn such little popular arts, and odious insinuations, which have no strength in them, and may so easily, with double advantage, be retorted upon himself. Would *Mr. B.* have it thought, that for this reason he continues a *Dissenter*, because he has *openly espoused* their principles, and therefore is engaged in the defence of them *for his own reputation*?

Mr.

Mr. E. 'tis evident, has already despised the temptation of worldly esteem, which was much stronger to have kept him from *professing*, than it can be from *retracting* his opinions, which would gain him more repute with vain men, than he would lose by it; but I believe he will not covet it, at the expence of his inward peace. He might indeed consider, that the most ambitious *Hero* counts it no dishonour to raise the siege, and demolish his batteries, when he sees he cannot succeed; but I suppose this not his case, he need not despair, from what defence he sees made hitherto, by his adversaries.

And yet I believe Mr. E. is not so much at odds with Mr. B. but that he will very readily join with him, in lamenting the deplorable progress of *infidelity*: Alas! that *Christianity* should so sink in the reverence and esteem of men, whom the light of it shines so bright upon! But I do seriously profess, that I think no one thing contributes more to it, than mens *bold inventions* of unintelligible mysteries of faith, and then *ramming them down* with barbarous *persecution*, so that either we must bear a violence done to our understandings, or to our bodies; by which methods men plainly tell the world, they dare not suffer their *Faith* to be disputed, nor soberly examined. If any dare, tho with never such seriousness and conscience, detect the *sandy foundations* thereof; the secular arm is their refuge, which they trust more to, than to sober arguments. Divers renown'd Prelates of *England*, have of late given the *Unitarian* writers an ample testimony of their fair way of arguing, not with *superficial dashes of a scornful wit*, as Mr. B. says; but says the excellent ABp. Tillotson †, they argue *clearly and closely, with*

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guard

† The place here refer'd to is Tillotson's Serm. 45 concerning the Divinity of our blessed Saviour, and is the more remarkable

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guard and caution, gravity and decency; but yet they are answer'd with *barbarity and violence, bonds and imprisonments, fines and ruin*. The way by which *Mahomet's* impostures are upheld. Now, what can any rational man think of these things, but that designing men would impose on the people's belief without allowing them the liberty of reasonable creatures, or of Christians, which is to *search and examine, and prove all things*?

'Tis this becomes a violent temptation to some, to think our religion is but like that of others, a *parliamentary Faith* or *State-Creed*, when it is upheld by the same *sinister arts*; and so they think all religion but a *cheat*, owing its strength not to *truth and reason*, but to worldly *policy*, and diabolical *violence*. As Christianity never prosper'd since persecution by Christians began, so I shall not wonder, if men of slight thought do more and more turn from *such* a religion, whilst they must take it up out of *fear*, not out of a rational and *free choice*. Men may cite authors and examples, if they will, from *Jews and Turks* or *antichristian Papists* for such practices; but never

remarkable, as it is the testimony of an adversary in a discourse expressly wrote against the *Unitarians*, by which it appears how differently that worthy Prelate thought of them from Mr. *Boyle*. His words are these: "The writers on that side are generally a pattern of the *fair way* of disputing, and of debating matters of religion *without heat and unseemly reflexions* upon their adversaries — They generally argue matters with *that temper and gravity*, and with that *freedom from passion and transport*, which becomes a serious and weighty argument: And for the most part they reason closely and clearly, with extraordinary guard and caution, with great dexterity and *decency*, and yet with smartness and subtilty enough, with a very gentle heat and few hard words; virtues to be prais'd, wherever they are found, yea even in an enemy, and very worthy our imitation. — Upon the whole matter, they have but this one great defect, that they want a good cause and truth on their side, which if they had, they have reason and wit and temper enough to defend it."

ver from the holy *Jesus* ; whose cause is betrayed by these *Sons of thunder*, these *treacherous defenders* of the Christian Faith ; among which I would not be understood to include Mr. B. who has shewn himself to be of a more christian spirit, only he may see among what sort of men he is *listed*. If ever a *reformation* be truly wrought among us, *this* is the crime, and *these* the men that need it, without which 'tis the greatest *hypocrisy*, to punish men for *infidelity* and *error*, and at the same time to make them *infidels*, by raising their natural abhorrence of a religion, dress'd up so injuriously in the rage and *flames of hell*, which is not to *entice*, but to *devour* and *fear* men.

The design of the following Treatise is to examine Mr. B's argument upon the head of *worship*, in which 'tis the serious concern of *Christians* to be well instructed, and to vindicate the *Unitarians* from the groundless aspersions of *idolatry* and *sacrilege* in their religious worship of the *Lord Jesus* ; and I think 'tis free from either *personal reflexions*, or *jocular strains*, neither of which are by the author accounted any ornaments to a discourse on so serious an argument, which ought to be treated of as in the sight of God, whom it so immediately concerns ; to whom, the author has endeavoured to approve himself in sincerity, and is not very anxious for any thing more.

A



A Vindication of the *Worship* of the Lord *Jesus Christ* on *Unitarian* Principles.

C H A P. I.

- I. *Supreme divine worship of Jesus Christ, not required nor practised in Scripture.*
 1. *Not in Prayer.* 2. *Not in internal acts, as Faith, Love, &c.* 3. *Not in external acts, as Baptism, Lord's Supper.* 4. *Not to be inferred from the foundation, on which those acts of worship are grounded.*
- II. *An inferior religious worship of Jesus Christ is allowed and required by the Scriptures.*
 1. *In that he is worshipped as Mediator.* 2. *In that he cannot be worshipped through a Mediator.* 3. *In that his claim to worship is founded on subordinate derived dominion.*

SECT. I. **H**OW popular soever the Argument may seem, when from the worship due to our Lord Jesus, the *Trinitarians* infer his supreme Deity; and how great soever the imaginary Triumphs are, with which Mr. B. flatters himself upon this head, as tho he had quite baffled the cause of the *Unitarians*: yet I doubt not, but by

a thorough examination, and a right stating of this matter, upon *Unitarian* principles, to answer the arguments, and to overthrow the opinion of their adversaries, by making it plain, that no *supreme* divine worship, or adoration, is, upon christian principles, given to the blessed Jesus; which is the supposition Mr. B. goes upon.

Let it first be premised, to prevent obscurity and confusion, that the term *Divine*, when added to worship, may be used as equivocally, or in as different senses as the term *God*, to which it relates. For as this is used sometimes for the absolutely *Supreme* Being, or first Cause, and at other times for one of *inferior* authority; just so *divine* worship may either signify what is given to the *supreme*, or what is due only to an inferior being of *subordinate* authority. For in the same sense as the object is divine, the worship of it is so. And in this lower sense I understand *Socinus*, when he pleads for divine worship to be given to *J. C.* since he expressly says, he intends by it not the same as is given to the *Father*, but much less. See his Epist. 3. *ad Radecium*; where speaking of that text, *That all may honour the Son, as they honour the Father*, he denies it to signify *plenam similitudinem*; and says that he makes *non minimam differentiam*; no little, but a mighty difference between the worship due to God, and that due to Jesus Christ, tho he calls this divine worship too.

If this had been duly considered, Mr. B. and thers might have spared their pains in proving the absurdity of giving divine worship in the highest sense (which *Socinus* was not for) to one, who is not God in the highest sense. Therefore I shall freely grant the absurdity of that point, and so need not concern myself with that part of Mr. B's argument, which Mr. E.
never

never gave him any ground to expatiate so upon. I shall here use the terms *divine worship*, in his own sense, for what is *supremely* such; and consider it, as he does, under the general notion of importing *the respect due to a Being of infinite excellency, and supreme authority, which only the blessed God is possessed of*; whether it be internal worship or external. So p. 107. But I do maintain, in opposition to what he asserts to the contrary, that the holy Scriptures, 1. Do never require us to pay *such* divine worship to our blessed Saviour *Jesus Christ*, as he is distinct from the Father, who dwells in him, and is worshipped by us. 2. But they do allow and require us to pay him an *inferior* religious worship.

These two points answer the whole of Mr. B's, and other Trinitarians arguments, on this head of worship.

First, I utterly deny that the Scriptures require any *such* divine worship of Jesus Christ, or that any injury is done to our most dear and blessed Saviour by not giving him the *same supreme* worship, which we give to the Father. All Mr. B's citations from Scripture are very short of proving his point. He first brings for a general proof that text, *John* 5. 22, 23. *That all should honour the Son, as they honour the Father*. Whence he would infer that it must be the same, and as great honour as is due to the Father. Whereas Mr. E. had said it only designed to oblige us to honour the Son as *truly* (not *equally*) as the Father; which Dr. *Whitby* tells us was the great *Origen's* comment, and therefore not *only* Mr. E's *presumptuous Addition*, as Mr. B. insinuates.

*Ido'at. of
the Ch. of
Rome,
p. 223.*

I shall wave the inquiry, whether the text speaks of the honour of *worship*, or not rather of that of *obedience*, (for *konorandus* and *adorandus*

as are two things) but supposing it to relate to the former, the whole stress of Mr. B's argument must lie upon the particle *as*, which he supposes to be a note of *equality*, or *identity*. But if it only denote the reality of the thing, or some resemblance, tho of an inferior nature and degree, then all his argument is spoiled. And indeed it happens for him very ill, that the particle *as* scarcely ever notes more than *similitude*. This is so obvious and vulgar a remark, that 'tis a wonder Mr. B. should begin with so weak an argument, which he knew every one could except against; which yet he says nothing to remove. As well might he prove Christ's Disciples to be equal objects of the *Father's* love with himself, because he says, that *he loved them as he loved him*, John 17. 23. Nay, thus it will help the *Socinians* to a good argument, *viz.* That the *Father* and *Son* are no more *one* Being, than a multitude of believers, because *they are one*, as *the Father and Son are one*, ver. 22. i. e. equally one, according to this sense. Whereas indeed such expressions only note a general similitude in the reality of the thing. 'Tis plain our Lord intends no more, but that as the *Father* had *his* honour, so the *Son* had some due to himself, by the *Father's* favour; and therefore he adds, that *he that honours not the Son, honours not the Father who sent him*. He does not say, he that honours him not as much as the *Father*; no, but *he that does not honour him*, offends the *Father*. As he who despised an Apostle, despised Jesus Christ who sent him; so to reject, or not honour Jesus Christ his *Son*, is a contempt to the *Father*, whose messenger he was. On which account only the text requires us to honour him, *viz.* as having God's commission, and consequently could never intend an equality of honour to him and the

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the Father ; only that as the Father was to be honoured highly, so some great honour ought to redound to the Son of *such* a Father, and so authorized by him. 'Tis to so little purpose that this text is alledged to prove equal worship due to Christ, as to the Father, that I shall hereafter from *hence* prove that the worship due to Christ is of an *inferior* nature. But let us next consider the particular instances of worship given to Jesus Christ, which he pretends are *divine* worship in the highest sense.

1. I need not trouble myself to answer the particular texts he cites to shew that *prayer* is to be made to Jesus Christ, nor to distinguish which only are pertinent, and which do not concern *him*, or do not imply *prayer* to him ; because I rely upon other answers.

I observe not one clear instance of *prayer* to Jesus Christ when absent, either required in the precept, or reported in the example, thro' the whole New Testament, only what is supposed under the general phrase of *calling on his Name*. Stephen saw him visibly, *Acts* 7. And those instances, *1 Thess.* 3. 11. *2 Cor.* 13. 13. seem to be only *Wishes*, just like those in the salutations at the beginning of most of the Epistles, which either are no prayers, or may not be directed to Jesus Christ, tho they be for benefits by him. 'Tis but like that prayer, *Rev.* 1. 4. *Grace be to you from the seven Spirits* ; which * Mr. *Jos. Mede* has clearly proved to be *seven Angels* (as Mr. *Baxter* and others cannot deny or disown) and says, that it may be a prayer for benefits by their ministry, tho directed to God, as *Gen.* 48. 16. We may say, *Peace and protection from good Angels be to you*, and yet not *pray to them*. So may the Apostle say, *The Grace of Christ, and the Communication of the Holy Ghost be to you* ; and yet only pray to the Father for it.

* *Exercitatus* on
Zech. 4.
10.
See Answer
to *Water-*
land, Sect.
4.

So then I see no instance of *prayer* to Jesus Christ, when absent and invisible : only we read of Christians *calling on his name*. If that phrase signify any more than professing his name, *saying, Lord, Lord*, or using his name in worship ; yet it can amount to no more, under the Gospel-constitution, than calling on him as *Mediator*, to come in to our help as an intercessor. But I deny this Prayer to be *supreme divine* worship, or to be the same with praying to God, as the *ultimate* Object thro a Mediator. He may be sought to as Mediator, as he was by St. Stephen, when he saw him *standing at God's right hand*, ver. 56. *i. e.* in a *ministring* posture as an advocate : but he is never the *ultimate* object of *supreme* worship ; and no transient subordinate worship is to be given to the supreme God, but only to the subordinate Being, to which I may not give the *divine honour* of terminating my faith, worship, and rest in him, without seeking to go further, even to *God*, his and my Father.

It should seem, that he forbids *such* prayer to himself, as belongs to God his Father : *In* ^{John 16.} *that day ye shall ask me nothing, but shall ask the* ^{23.} *Father in my name*. On which words Origen condemns direct prayer to Jesus Christ (*i. e.* other than praying to God *by* him) as Dr. *Whitby* † observes. 'Tis evident by the context, that † *On the* he speaks of asking in prayer, rather than of *Text.* *asking questions* ; because he opposes to it their *asking the Father in his name*, which will not be deny'd to relate to prayer. And tho the word does often signify to ask by inquiry, yet does it also signify to ask by intreaty or prayer, as well as the other word in the latter clause ; as appears ver. 26. where *Christ* uses it in saying, *I will pray the Father for you* ; and the context

text more fairly introduces this sense. And indeed if they might pray to him universally for all things, I cannot see any pretence, why they might not as well ask instruction, and the solution of their difficulties, as any thing else. He plainly represents them as in a craving condition, *In that day ye shall ask, &c. v. 26.* And I believe as long as they would want other things, they would want instruction (even when inspir'd) more and more. And therefore to suppose, our Lord should tell them they would not need to ask any more for information, whilst yet on earth, and whilst they would be craving other mercies, seems to me a wild supposition. For can it be thought, that the Apostles never pray'd to God the *Father*, for information and light in any point, after Jesus Christ had ascended? We are told by some, that when St. *John* (who records this text) set about writing this very Gospel, he engaged the *Asian* bishops to assist him by prayer, and fasting; and did he not pray himself, think we, for light and instruction? So that it seems very hard to understand Christ's words of *such* asking; and if they had occasion to ask the *Father*, why not *him* too, if an equal object of worship? No, they should indeed ask the *Father*, but not him, save as Mediator to offer their prayers to the *Father*, not as the *ultimate* object.

And 'tis apparent, that the current method of the *New Testament* is to pray to God by Jesus Christ, or in his name as our Intercessor, *ver. 26.* And this is the constant strain of the truly primitive writers, as appears in *Clemens Romanus*, in *Polycarp's* prayer, in *Origen*, &c. they offer'd their prayers to Jesus Christ, as their *High Priest*, to present them to God. So that tho it seems in some sort, to be one act of worship,

ship, yet there is a subordination in the two objects that are so conjoin'd, whether I pray expressly to God, or Jesus Christ. For if I pray to God, 'tis that he will accept and help me thro Jesus Christ; and if I pray to Jesus Christ, 'tis that he will help me by interceding with the *Father*. 'Tis God only, to whom I principally and ultimately pay my worship, tho I honour the Son as my great Advocate and *High Priest*, to present it with advantage. This is the plain easy sense of the Gospel. I no otherwise call on him, than as I believe on him, and come to him, which is only as *the way to the Father*, not as to the Supreme himself, which he never requires.

2. Next Mr. B. comes to the *internal* acts of worship, viz, faith and love, &c. 'Tis but poor arguing to say, that because we must trust in Jesus Christ, therefore it must be with the *same* faith and respect, as trust in God implies; when 'tis plain Jesus Christ propounds two objects of faith, *John 14. 1. Ye believe in God, believe also in me.* He that trusts in man so as to forget God, or depart from him as his main stay, is *curst*; but as I may safely believe in, or believe (the phrase in Scripture importing the same) a faithful man or prophet, as the *Israelites* did believe in *Moses*, so much more in Jesus Christ. And yet 'tis one thing to trust in one as a subordinate minister, and another as the supreme author and end of all. *By him we believe in God*, says the Scripture. ^{Exod. 14]} So that it seems he is ^{31.} not the *ultimate* object of faith, and so is not prov'd to be the supreme God, by any faith in him, which the Gospel requires. ^{1 Pet. 1]}

The like I say of our love to Jesus Christ. Here I find Mr. B. is sadly baffled, when he pretends to prove Jesus Christ to be the object

Of the Worship of JESUS CHRIST,

of the same supreme love as God his Father claims, from Scripture. The texts which he brings to shew it, do plainly evidence on the contrary, how warily the writers of the New Testament

Mat. 22. avoid it. *Love thy God*, says Jesus Christ, *with all thy heart, and all thy soul, &c.* But when

Mat. 10. he bids us love himself, he uses no such terms, 37. but only bids us love him *above father and mother*, and all this lower world. Again, says St. Paul

Eph. 6. 24. (when he describes Christians by this love to Jesus Christ) they *love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity*. Is this the same as to love him equal to God, with supreme love? Far be it from me to think, that I can love that blessed Saviour equal to his transcendent love to me, or that ever I can love him enough with a regular Gospel-love; in comparison of whom all in the world is but *loss and dung*; and I humbly own it is my sin, that I am so defective in love to so dear a benefactor, and so great a Lord: Yet I am sensible, that our esteem and rational love must ascend higher than *him*, and not rest till it center in his *God and ours*. I challenge any one to produce a text for the supreme ultimate love of Jesus Christ.

3. Nor are we ultimately to dedicate ourselves to him, but to God thro him, to *him* only as our Mediator. And so did Christians dedicate themselves ministerially to the *Apostles*, under Christ.

Heb. 7. 26.

Cor. 8. 5.

The same I say, as to all other parts of worship internal or external. 'Tis to no purpose to say, that this or that honour is given to him, which bears the same general name with what is given to the *Father*; unless it can be shown, that it has the same high and ultimate respect to Jesus Christ, which the same common name, or joint exercise, is no proof of at all. I shall ever stand to it, that no worship is so truly divine,

vine, as what is ultimate and supreme; and Mr. B. himself must remember, that in his description of the nature of divine worship he has imply'd so much, in saying, *'tis the respect due only to a Being of supreme excellency and authority.* But he will never shew me one instance, where Jesus Christ is respected in any part of worship, as one of supreme authority, or as higher than *Mediator*; which he owns is an inferior Character.

Nay, more than once Mr. B. is forced to grant, that the *Father* only is *the ultimate object of wor-* P. 145.
ship, (of which more presently) which subverts all his pretended proofs for the divine worship of Jesus Christ, when he grants in effect, that he has no ultimate worship. What! is transient mediatorial honour the highest, that man can give to God? or, is he God most high, to whom none of the highest worship is paid? He, besides whom, there is one to whom worship is *more eminently* due than to him? as Mr. B. allows, p. 24. These are great absurdities.

(1.) As to *baptism* into the name of Christ, 'tis but a lifting ourselves under him, as God's commissioned *Son* and minister, as the very introduction to the ministerial commission shews: *All* Mat. 28.
power, says Jesus Christ, *is given me of my Father*: 18, 19.
Go ye therefore and baptize, &c. Just as the soldier is lifted under his colonel, as well as under the king, and yet they *two* are not equal; and he is far more the servant of his king than of the other, tho at once lifted under both. The sense of Christ's words there, is very justly given by a late learned expositor, q. d. *Baptize them into the profession of that Gospel-faith, which was re-* phrase of
vealed and sent by the Father, brought and pub- Dr. Sam.
lished by the Son, and confirmed by the Holy Clarke on
Spirit. the text.

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So that it signifies nothing, that the Son is joined with the *Father*, towards the proof of the Son's receiving equal honour to his; any more than it will prove that the Apostles had the same honour with Jesus Christ, because their disciples gave, or dedicated *themselves* (the great business of baptism) *to the Lord, and also to them*; or that *Moses* was equally honoured with God, because at once *Israel* believed in both; as they did at once *worship both God and King David*. Mr. B. is hard put to it, when he knows not how to excuse this latter, without supposing they first bow'd to God, and then *turned* about to worship the King, when the text speaks of it more like one single act: and this was in effect the same, as to have said in words, *We give honour to God and the King*. I ask Mr. B. whether he be baptized in the Mediator's name, *i. e.* (with him) in the name of the *Son of God*, and the *Son of man* both? Dares he say the *Son of man* is excluded, and that he has no honour in our service, nor is regarded in our baptism? And if we are baptiz'd into him as the *Son of man* also, or into his whole person, then are we baptiz'd jointly into the name of *God and of a creature*, (for the man Christ is no more) and 'tis a false suggestion to say, that the *three into whose names we are baptiz'd, are to be taken for one God*. This is unwarrantable presumption.

'Tis a poor reply to the instance of *Israel's being baptized into Moses*, to say that we cannot produce such a *form* for it as that of *Christ's*. What then? Is not the thing itself, or the main end and effect of it, as much as the form? As weak is that difference, which he would make between the *baptizing into Moses*, and into his *name*; when 'tis so evident, that they import the

the same thing. See *Gal. 3. 27. Rom. 6. 3.* where they who were according to the usual form of baptism baptiz'd into his name, are said only to have been baptiz'd into Christ; and sure the person is at any time as much as his name.

But if Mr. B. thinks the baptizing into the name of any one, should imply him to be the supreme God; I shall clearly prove the contrary from *1 Cor. 1. 13, 15. I thank God I baptized none of you, &c.* says St. Paul, lest any should say I had baptiz'd into my own name. Could St. Paul suppose, that by charging him with baptizing in his own name, they meant to impeach him of setting up himself for God? No, the context plainly shews, that all his apprehension about it was this, that they would have taken it as a ground of denominating themselves his disciples, as they already were apt to do, saying, *I am of Paul, &c.* as if he, instead of Jesus Christ, were the head of their profession, and master of the Christian school. This he intimates would have justly followed from his baptizing into his own name. But if it had imply'd him to be God most high, they could never be supposed to be so absurd, as to charge St. Paul with such a foolish and monstrous crime. Which shews what was their sense of the matter in hand, in the beginning of Christianity.

So that to be baptiz'd in the name of any one, is only to enter one's self his disciple, and to be denominated after his name; as they who were baptiz'd into Moses were Moses's disciples. They *Joh. 9. 28.* who were baptiz'd into John's baptism, were *Ch. 3. 25.* John's disciples. So to be baptiz'd into the name of Jesus, is to profess ourselves his disciples, and to take his name upon us. As the wife and servant did transire in nomen mariti aut domini, were called after their names, so we are called Christians from Christ; being baptiz'd into his name.

Acts 2. 38.
— 19. 5.

name, we are called his disciples. And therefore in the Gospel-history we read only of Christians being baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus, because they were eminently to bear the Mediator's name, having before been the professed subjects of God, under whom the Lord Jesus was now constituted the chief head and administrator.

(2.) Nor is the *Lord's Supper* any instance of supreme *divine* worship paid to Jesus Christ, tho it be a celebration of the memory of his death. I grant there are concomitant acts of worship both in this and in *Baptism*, viz. prayer and praise; which are not requir'd to be offer'd to Jesus Christ neither, but to the Father, (for we must only do as he did, which was not to pray to himself;) but that this of eating or drinking is any *immediate* worship, Mr. B. will hardly prove. 'Tis an act of obedience, not of *worship* as distinct from obedience. At least 'tis no act of external worship distinct from prayer, or from love and faith, &c. which he must intend, because he distinguishes it from those parts of worship, as a particular distinct instance. Something to this purpose, against its being *immediate worship*, Mr. B. may find in a book, called, *Remarks on the Bishop of Derry's Discourse* *, &c. p. 117.

* By Mr.
Boyse.

Besides, we *then* remember Christ in his death only, or as *a man slain*; where we see nothing that resembles him as *a God*, or that signifies any such matter to us. All that solemnity may justly belong to him, as an honourable remembrance of so excellent a friend, tho there were no pretence of a *Deity* in the case.

As to all *external* acts of worship, they are wholly equivocal, and cannot determine what the worship intended is. Let Mr. B. shew that God has appropriated any of these to the *supreme* Being,

ing, and that they are given to Jesus Christ. He will own that our Lord Jesus received homage as a *Prophet* only of *eminent sanctity*; which is moral reverence or *religious* worship, such as St. Peter refused. By which 'tis plain, that such external acts cannot prove his *Deity*. P. 75.

The objections from St. Peter and the Angel, who refused such worship which Jesus Christ received without any check to them who gave it, are frivolous; since they two had no such claim to that worship, which he had; and therefore they might well refuse what it became him to accept. And sure he may challenge what an Angel refuses, and yet be below the supreme God, tho greater than Angels. Nay, 'tis evident enough, that under the Old Testament Angels did receive as great worship from others, as that which the angel refused from St. John, because he was an Apostle, and so not much in honour below Angels.

And what tho the *Angels of God* worship Jesus Christ? This shews he is Lord over them, but not that he is their supreme God. So that in all this heap of seeming arguments, which are rather *numbered* than *weighed*, here is not one that comes home to the purpose, so as to prove *supreme divine* worship to be due to Jesus Christ. Prayer, praise, love, faith, prostration, &c. may be given to one, so as to be *divine* worship, when ultimate and supreme; and to *another*, so as to be only *subordinate*; which it is, when given to Jesus Christ, for any thing that Mr. B. has made appear to the contrary.

4. Having thus in vain attempted to produce any one plain instance of *supreme divine* worship paid to Jesus Christ, from the *nature* of the acts themselves, he pretends next to prove it from the *foundation*, on which those acts of worship are

P. 115.

are grounded, which he says, are his *infinite divine perfections, and supreme dominion*. Now here I will join issue with him, and if he can shew me one instance in Scripture, in which the worship due to Jesus Christ is ever grounded upon his *supreme dominion or infinite perfections*, I will yield up the cause. But if contrariwise the Scripture always grounds his worship upon his *derived subordinate authority*, or upon his commission from the *Father*, then I must in all reason be allowed to carry it.

Mr. B. thinks he does enough for his purpose, to strain some texts for the proof of such perfections being in him, which yet, in the instances produced, are far from being infinite perfections or *supremely* divine. But I find he does not pretend to bring one text to shew, that the worship paid him is grounded on those perfections themselves. On the other hand I observe, that when the grounds of worship are mentioned in Scripture, 'tis expressly upon a limited and derived authority; *The Father committeth all judgment to the Son, that all should honour the Son. He has given him a name above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow—to the glory of God the Father*. Is this like grounding his worship upon supreme dominion or perfection, when 'tis wholly founded upon the *Father's* free gift as a reward? What! has the Father no higher grounds for the worship he claims, than a *borrow'd* or *bestow'd* power? Sure he is worshipped as the *God of Gods*, as one who possesses all glory and perfection of himself, and is beholden to none for what he is and has. 'Tis not possible a derived dependent being should be deem'd equal to a self-existent one, who gives the other *all* he has. And tho this derived one should have all power and universal knowledge commensurate to the earth or church, yet are these things far from being

John 5.

22, 23.

Phil. 2. 9,

10, 11.

being infinite or supreme perfections, or equal to the self-existent independent *Father*.

Nor will *ministerial creation* or preservation entitle him to *supreme* worship: and I suppose Mr. B. can't shew more than this to be attributed to Jesus Christ, (whatever creation it be, whether *See before* the Old or New that is spoken of) or that ever P. 196. this itself is assigned as the ground of worship.

In the matter of *redemption*, I see no ground for *supreme* divine worship, since he is therein consider'd only as a *Mediator*; (which Mr. B. allows to be an inferior character) who has redeem'd us by the will and command of his *Father*, and to the glory of *him* as the principal: *Thou hast redeemed us to God.* Under that *subordinate* consideration, the church does *there* celebrate his praises, and so can only intend a subordinate *inferior* honour to him. So that upon the whole, they seem to go upon very slight and rash grounds, who give *supremely* divine worship to Jesus Christ, for any thing that Mr. B. has said in vindication of it; since the whole current of the New Testament is against him, as well as that of the first and purest ages of *Christianity*; and since also 'tis so highly injurious to the honour of the *Father*, in whom alone are found the solid grounds of divine worship, *viz.* native, original, infinite perfection, and supreme underived dominion.

Rev. 5. 9.

One would think it an invincible argument against the supreme worship of Jesus Christ, which Mr. E. had laid down, *viz.* in that *the worship given him is grounded on derived and borrowed excellency*. And 'tis but a poor come-off in Mr. B. when in answer to it he says, *If he* P. 121. *mean by derived and borrowed excellency, such excellency as God communicates to a dignified creature, I deny that the worship which the Scriptures require*

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us to pay to Christ is grounded on such deriv'd excellency. For as Mr. E. had said nothing at all, whether Jesus Christ was ever created or not, (tho Mr. B. very unjustly charges him with it) or was only generated; so no doubt but, when he spake of deriv'd or given excellency and power, he meant it of such as is any way deriv'd and borrow'd, be it by creation or generation: and tho he had never such great excellencies belonging to his nature originally, that is *ab origine*, yet if that nature itself be deriv'd (for Mr. B. grants his essence is so) the case is the same still; it can challenge but an inferior respect: and unless he can shew, that to be deriv'd and dependent (let it be what way deriv'd he will) is as great a perfection, as to be self-existent and independent, and that it challenges as great veneration from us, he says nothing in all the rest, that can avail his cause.

Nothing can be more apparent, than that the homage due to Jesus Christ is not grounded upon any original infinite excellency of his own, but on his Father's grant. Words can hardly speak it more expressly than that text, *Phil.* 2. 9, 10, 11. But Mr. B. catches at the phrase, *that every knee may bow to him*: and because he finds God had said of himself, *that to him every knee should bow*, presently (according to his usual way of arguing from the same or like words to the same sense, without minding the difference of the subjects they are apply'd to) he confidently concludes, that Jesus Christ must be the self-same God to whom all knees must bow, which is just as if, because in one place I read I must love God, and in another, that I must love my neighbour; therefore I should conclude, that doubtless God and my neighbour are the same, be-

Isa. 45. 23,

P. 124.

because the same thing, viz. *Love*, is requir'd for both.

But 'tis not merely from the same words being apply'd to both *God* and *Christ*, that he proves them to be the same; but he thinks to father his conclusion, and his way of inferring, on *St. Paul*, who alledges, that agreeable to the declaration of *God* in the Prophet, of every knee's bowing to him, as an accomplishment of it, we must all stand before the judgment-seat of *Christ*. *Rom. 14. 11, 12.* Now, says *Mr. B.* If the Apostle's reasoning be just, our Saviour must be that *Jehovah*, to whom the Prophet had foretold, that every knee should bow. Why so? Else, says he, it would not follow, because every knee should bow to *God*, that all must stand before the judgment-seat of *Christ*. But I think it will follow very well, without making *St. Paul* pass for a shallow reasoner. Is it not a great instance of *God's* prevailing sovereignty and dominion, and of the world's universal subjection to it, that all are accountable to his Minister and Delegate? Is any so blind as not to see that it is *God's* judgment and *God's* authority is own'd, when his commission'd Judge is submitted to, as if it were himself? If a Prince say, I will have all my subjects submit to my authority, and from thence one concludes, that they must be accountable to his commission'd judge or delegate; will it follow thence, that these judges are the very king? Must *St. Paul* be censured as one that knew not how to argue justly, because he intends not such a weak consequence, or rather such a *non-sequitur*, as *Mr. B.* draws unreasonably from his words? It is enough for justifying his argument, that *God* the Father is bow'd to, in mens appearing at the bar of *Christ* as his Minister. I wonder *Mr. B.* should venture on such trifling pretences.

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But not being able to prove supreme *divine* worship to be due to *Jesus Christ* with any reasonable evidence, from clear Scripture-instances, he endeavours next to bring it in at a back-door. He finds that some worship is to be given him: but, says he, *There is no religious worship to be given to any but God alone*; and that all such religious, inferior worship as is given to another, is a giving away God's peculiar, which he has *appropriated* to himself, and so is no better than *idolatry*. And hence he concludes, that what worship is given to *Jesus Christ*, is not this inferior worship, and therefore it must be *divine*. Of these principles I shall endeavour to shew the falsehood and weakness.

SECT. II. That there is no evidence brought by Mr. B. of *supreme* divine worship due to *Jesus Christ*, I have already manifested. What remains next, is, *Secondly*, To shew, that there is an *inferior* religious worship of *Jesus Christ* which the Scripture allows; and to answer his cavils and exceptions against it, from that general position of his, (and others) *That all religious adoration of any, but the supreme God, is idolatry*, like to that of the Pagans, which was oppos'd by the *primitive Fathers*, &c.

First then I maintain, that *de facto* there is an inferior worship due to *Jesus Christ*. And this appears,

P. 26. *Arg. 1.* In that he is to be worship'd as *Mediator*. Now Mr. B. grants, that as *Mediator* he is *inferior to the Father*. Whence it will follow, that the worship, paid *him* under this inferior character, must needs be inferior respect; because the relative act must needs bear a proportion to its object. Which side of the question Mr. B. takes, *An Christusqua Mediator sit adorandus, an non?* I know not. But if he join with those who are for

for the *negative*, I think he lifts himself among those, who seem as ungrateful to the Redeemer for all his rich grace and love, as any whom they accuse. 'Tis evident that they join not with that desirable society, who take so much pleasure in Rev. 5. 9, adoring and praising the *Lamb who was slain*, and that for shedding his blood; which certainly is as *Mediator*, for the Lamb is only that nature, which was sacrificed, or which became an offering; so that the same nature is intended to be honoured, which endured the smart, and that nature is glorified by the Saints, which was so by God. Nay I may, without rashness, venture to say, that to deny all worship to the man *Jesus Christ*, or to him as *Mediator*, and that as to one *unworthy* of it, is to put very great contempt on the blessed *Jesus*: 'Tis to run quite counter to the Scripture, and to contradict their triumphant congratulations of the Redeemer's honour, who say, *Worthy is the Lamb slain, to receive glory, honour and blessing, &c.* And if it should be found that there is no Son of God, but what is a distinct being from the Father, (as some verily believe) and to him they deny all adoration, as idolatrous; I fear lest they be found among those, who worship not the Son of God at all; and *he that honours not the Son* (even tho he be another being from the Father) *honours not the Father*. In short, 'tis as *Mediator* that the grounds of worship in Scripture do respect him.

Further, our Lord *Jesus Christ* is in the same respect an object of *worship*, as he is an object of *faith*, (for Mr. B. instances in faith, as a part of his internal worship.) Now I would know, if he dare say, that we must not have faith in him as *Mediator*. Nothing is more evident, than that the Scripture requires *mediate* faith in him, (which is but subordinate worship.) *Thro him we believe* Pet. 1. 21.

John 14. 1. *lieve in God. So again, Ye believe in God, says Christ, believe also in me, i. e. as Mediator, as the Trinitarian Comments will tell us. So then here is worship of him as Mediator, or as one inferior and subject to the Father; and therefore it cannot express a respect equal to that of the Father.*

P. 122. *Again, Mr. B. allows, that as Mediator, he has all dominion; and this is the true ground of worship or homage.*

Nor indeed have the learned Trinitarians deny'd, that he is to be pray'd to as Mediator. Mr. Jurieu, in his Pastoral Letters, shews, that the Papists do indeed make a difference between the worship of Angels or Saints, and that of God, because they only pray to them as Mediators; but that they make none between that and the worship of Jesus Christ, to whom, says he, we address thus, Pray thou for us, intercede for us with thy Father. This is without dispute to pray to him as Mediator, and in a subordinate inferior way, below our prayers to the Father, or Supreme. So St. Stephen pray'd to Christ as Mediator, says Mr. Baxter, because he petition'd for an act of mediation, Acts 7. Now mediate and ultimate worship must needs be unequal, and the former be as much inferior to the latter, as the Mediator, qua talis, is to the Father, with Mr. B's own consent.

His last Work of a Believer, P. 10. to which he refers in his Paraphrase.

Again, I argue from the usual apostolic salutations at the beginning of most of the Epistles, (which Mr. B. sticks not to mention for one of his proofs of divine worship in prayer to Jesus Christ) Grace and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ. From hence I argue, that (even according to the Trinitarians) Jesus Christ cannot be pray'd to here as God, but as Mediator below God; and therefore with inferior worship: which I gather thus, I observe the
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Holy Spirit is never once join'd with the *Father* and the *Son* in those salutations; so that either he is wholly left out from among the persons worshipped by Christians, or the word *Father* must be taken for the whole Deity, including the three persons, as they sometimes tell us; there is no other way to fetch in the third person into this worship. If Mr B. will say, that God the *Father* notes the first person of the Trinity, and Jesus Christ the Lord, the second person; then the Spirit is not included in the object of divine worship at all. What shall be said to this? Is this to make the holy Spirit equal to the other two? What, to pray distinctly to two persons in particular, all along, and never once to the third! What is this but plainly to teach all the Churches that there was no third person of equal honour; since he would not have been so constantly neglected by the Apostles in their public worship?

Well then, I'll suppose to avoid this the *Trinitarians* must say, that the term *Father* is put for the whole deity, including the three persons. But tho this is very odd, and looks like a shift for a desperate cause, to say that the *Father*, when distinguished from the *Son of a Father*, as 2 *John* ver. 3. should be put for the Father and the Son; yet allowing this, that the second and third persons are included in the *Father*, I then ask, what shall be intended by the Lord Jesus Christ join'd with the *Father*? It cannot be said that he is pray'd to as the second person there, because he is suppos'd to be included as such in the term *Father*. There he is consider'd as God among the three, and therefore it would be a gross and groundless *Tautology* to pray to him again under the same character as God. Or, why should he be mention'd first in general and common, and then in particular

cular, more than the other two persons? So then it must be granted, I conceive, that having been pray'd to before in common as God, according to them, he is next particularly pray'd to as *Mediator*, and not as God; and then I have what I design, *viz.* a proof that he is worshipped as *Mediator*, and as inferior to the Father; and consequently, that inferior religious worship paid him in the New Testament, is neither supremely *divine*, nor yet *idolatry*.

Arg. 2. Because Jesus Christ cannot be worshipped with *supreme* divine worship (according to Mr. B. and other *Trinitarians*) therefore 'tis with *inferior* worship, if at all. The reason why he cannot be worshipped with *supreme* worship is, because (as Mr. B. will allow) there is no worship of God the *supreme* Being, according to the Gospel, but what must be offered thro Christ as the *Mediator*, that is, says Mr. B. and others, as *God-man*: Now if Christ be to be worshipped with divine worship as *God supreme*, who can be the *Mediator*, where Christ himself is the *ultimate* object? What *God-man* comes between Christ's divine nature, and the suppliant sinner? So that if I worship *him* with *divine* worship as God, then 'tis worshipping God without a *Mediator*; but since this is not Gospel-worship, 'tis not to be maintain'd, that any instances of worship paid to Jesus Christ in the New Testament are of this nature, *viz.* *divine supreme* worship, but only *inferior* respect.

And indeed Mr. B. being press'd with this argument, grants the main point, *viz.* *That the divine nature, as in the Father, is the ultimate object of our addresses.* So again, p. 24. *the Father is, sometimes in Scripture, propos'd as the ultimate object of religious worship, Eph. 2. 18. Thro him*

him we have access to the Father, i. e. to the divine nature as primarily subsisting in the Father. He must mean, that the Father *only* is the ultimate object, else 'tis nothing to his purpose; for he gives it as an answer to the question, who is Mediator when the divine nature *in the Son* is the ultimate object of worship? To this he answers, the divine nature, *as in the Father*, is the ultimate object; that is, as in him *only*, and not as in Christ: for if Christ also be such an ultimate object of divine worship, then the difficulty remains unanswered in *such* worship of him, who being the ultimate object, cannot be the *Mediator* also in the same worship; since that would be to mediate only with himself, (which the Father may do as well as the Son) whereas 'tis evident, the Mediator in Scripture is understood of another distinct person, and implies such mediation as belongs not to the Father to act in, but the *Son* only.

Mr. B. cannot say (as we may) that the human nature acts alone, in this mediation with his divine, because he denies it to be capable of *knowing the hearts of men*; (without which there can be no sufficient mediation for them) for he says, this is peculiar to God, and *solely* is to be found in him, not only in the most *eminent sense*, as Mr. E. had said, but in *any sense*.

Besides, then it will follow, that the man Jesus Christ is a sufficient Mediator of intercession with God the Father too, and there will need no second person in the Deity for this matter; for surely such a Mediator as will suffice with the divine nature in the *Son*, may suffice as well with the same nature in the *Father*, if they be equal in justice and glory: so that one divine person, together with the man Jesus Christ, will answer the whole affair of worship by a

Mediator. And if it will suffice for *intercession*, I suppose it will easily follow, that the human nature of Christ may also suffice in the business of *redemption*; because these two are supposed to be connected and dependent one on the other: and we are oft told (in arguing against the Papists) that none can be a sufficient Mediator of *intercession*, but who is also of *redemption* by his sacrifice, on which they say his *intercession* is grounded. If therefore the human nature in Christ can sufficiently act the part of mediation in itself, without the interceding mediation of the *divine*, in one part of it, *viz. intercession*; then it must be suppos'd to have had the same sufficiency in the other, *viz. as a propitiation*. Moreover, there will be the very *same* objection against Christ's mediating with his own divine nature and justice, by way of atonement, in his own divine virtue, as there is against his mediating with his own divine nature in *intercession*, in that same divine virtue: for to satisfy himself, is no satisfaction to the demands of his justice, 'tis to sit down without any amends; just as to intercede with himself only, is to do it without any proper *intercessor* at all.

If it be said, that the *human* nature could not do this, but from the dignity it receives by the personal union to the *divine* nature, and therefore must be a *God-man* in the case; I answer, That union itself could not make the human creature *infinite*, nor truly divine, and therefore not a subject of infinite virtue and merit neither: if any such virtue be, it must be reckon'd only to the divine nature, and then all the mediation bottom'd on it, will be still in its *own* virtue, which is to mediate with itself. Besides, the *Unitarians* will allow the man Jesus Christ to be united to the *Father*, who dwells in him, and who was manifested

in his flesh. And if that rule of the Trinitarians be allow'd, that the word *God* put absolutely, does use to signify the Father, who is eminently styl'd God (as says Mr. B. also) then such texts as speak of *God's being manifest in flesh*, and of *God's purchasing the church with his blood*, may be understood of the Father, and so do intimate as near an union of *him* to the man Jesus Christ, as can be pretended of any (suppos'd) second person in the Deity. So that we may gain this point, that to assert only one person in the divine nature, is enough to answer the Gospel-account of Christ's mediation with God for sinners.

This I say only follows, in case any Trinitarian should be driven to say, that only the human nature acts in mediating with the divine nature of Jesus Christ, when 'tis ultimately and divinely worship'd (without which he is not worship'd as *God*) as they must say, except it be worship'd without a *Mediator*, to come between this God and us, which is against the Gospel. In short, either Mr. B. must say, That the most high God Jesus Christ (to use the Trinitarian, not Scripture-dialect) is approachable by us without a Mediator against Scripture; or that the man Jesus Christ is a sufficient Mediator in his created nature; or that he is not worshipp'd as *God* at all, so as to need any Mediator. Either of the two latter will serve the Unitarians, tho 'tis the last that I am now driving at, viz. that Jesus Christ is not worship'd as supreme God, or as the ultimate object of worship. And if the *Son* be not the *ultimate*, but *mediate* object only, I believe few can be so forsaken of their reason, as to affirm *mediate* worship to be supremely *divine*, or proper for the supreme Being to receive, who is the *last end* in all worship and service: and

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he who has no right to this, is not the supreme God.

So then since Mr. *B.* seems not to allow Jesus Christ to be the ultimate object of worship, it will follow, that he has only a subordinate or mediate worship; and then I wonder to what purpose he went about to prove his supreme Deity from *divine* worship being paid to him, when he must own, that none of his instances from Scripture do prove him to be the ultimate or supreme object of any such worship, or to be *equal* to his Father, whose single glory it is to be so. Thus in few words he subverts all his own arguments, from that topic of *divine* worship, for none is *such* in the strictest sense but ultimate worship.

I find Mr. *B.* complains it was hard to understand this argument of Mr. *E's*, p. 145. but he that sees what reply he makes, will be apt to think the difficulty lay somewhere else, since he understands it far better than he answers it, by owning the *Father* to be the ultimate object of worship, leaving it to the Son only, to be an object of *mediate* or inferior worship, or of none at all.

Arg. 3. I argue from those grounds and reasons, on which the Scripture bottoms his claim to worship, which are such as will only support an *inferior* worship. Dominion or superiority is the ground of homage and worship, which is only an expression of our subjection to another, in whose power we are. *He is thy Lord, and worship thou him.* And from all *subjects* some homage is due. Now since the *man Jesus Christ* is undeniably possess'd of some dominion over us; tho, absent and invisible, *he is exalted to be our prince and Saviour*; it is therefore most unreasonable to deny him all homage or worship.

Psal. 45.
11.

Acts 5. 31.

worship, when he has such a foundation for it. Angels have no dominion over us that we know of; they are not our lords, lawgivers, or judges, ^{Acts 17.} tho they may exercise their natural powers for us; ^{31.} but Jesus Christ, as man, is our judge and lord. But yet since all the dominion, upon which the Gospel founds the claim of his worship, is but subordinate and delegated *from* and *for* another, *viz.* God, or the *Father*, it follows also that the worship claimed cannot be supreme, as what is strictly divine is.

Now that 'tis in regard of his subordinate derived dominion that he must be worshipped, those two texts alledged, *Phil.* 2. 9, 10, 11. and *John* 5. 22, 23. are home-proofs, if taken in their fair native sense. But Mr. B. labours to make them unintelligible, by drawing an artificial, or rather a confused cloud over their clear light. *The Father has committed all judgment to the Son, that all should honour the Son as they do the Father*, i. e. as truly, not equally, as Dr. *Whitby* reports *Origen's* interpretation to be. Is it not plain, that the honour due to Christ (supposing it to be worship, rather than obedience) is grounded on a delegated authority, which he is invested with from the *Father*? Is not a commission'd authority given him, on purpose to be the warrant and reason for doing him honour? which in all fair reasoning will imply, that without this commission there would not be such sufficient warrant and ground for it. And 'tis as evident, that this *given* authority could be no reason for giving him supreme *divine* worship, which is not due upon any thing that can be *given*; because 'tis due only to *original*, underived, and independent infinite perfections. And if Jesus Christ had such underived excellencies, that had been a more noble ground of honour, more worthy to be alledged

in the case; and withal, there had been no need of the *Father's* gift, to procure his *Son* this honour, if it was already antecedently due to him in the utmost degree, upon an infinitely *higher* reason than this gift. Nay, the reason proceeded on in the text, is contradictory to a claim founded on *original infinite* supremacy, because a gift of power cannot be made to *him*, who, as *God*, has all power, and so must be both the fountain of that gift, and receiver of it too. The same *divine nature* cannot sure have all power originally, or *underived*, and then have that by *derivation*, which it had underived; he who has all originally, can receive no gift or addition. There can be no truth more plain than this, nor any reasoning more natural and unstrained.

It were a most absurd interpretation of the text to make our Lord's meaning to be this, *viz.* The *Father* has committed all judgment to my *human nature*, that men might honour my *divine nature*, which yet receives nothing by it, and is adorable on a much higher reason without it. And yet there is no just doubt but that the *same subject* is intended to be honoured, which is invested with authority from God, *viz.* the Son of man, *ver.* 27. Nor can a gift or dignity conferred on the *human nature* be a ground of worshipping the *divine* at all: for as in *naturals*, water ascends not higher than the fountain; so in *morals*, our actions ascend no higher in a regular estimation than the grounds and principles of them. He who pretends to worship the *divine nature* for a reason not in it, and which only reaches to the *human*, does not worship the *divine* at all, but only the *human nature*.

Therefore to avoid these absurdities, Mr. B. runs, if possible, into a greater. He cannot deny but

but that the worship due to Jesus Christ is founded upon the *Father's gift*, in committing *all judgment to him*: but then he would fain have this *gift* to belong to his divine nature; and because that must needs have all power eternally inherent in itself, he says, 'tis a *gift of no power* but what did originally belong to it before. And lest one should not be able to see the mighty bounty of the *Father*, in giving his Son *nothing* new, but only what he had without that gift, he says, the *gift* lies in this, *That the Father did devolve for a time the sole exercise of this original power on his Son*, which originally was common to both, (and I suppose to the Holy Spirit also;) and, he says, that this is what Christ means, when he says, *All power in heaven and earth is given me of the Father*. P. 88. P. 122.

Let us a little consider the absurdity of these notions in some particulars.

1. Is it not strange, that in this *gift* of the *Father* to the *Son*, of *all power*, &c. which the Scripture speaks pompously of, there should be *nothing at all* given him more than he had before? For Mr. B. expressly says, *The Son acquires hereby no authority, that did not belong originally to his divine nature*. A gift of no new authority, seems to be a gift of nothing. Is Christ rewarded with nothing, or with no addition of glory? Must he hold that by gift, which he held by a better tenure before? P. 88.

2. Is it not absurd to say, that *God* can have a gift, or that *God* can be rewarded? Yet Mr. B. makes this gift to be the reward of the *Son of God*, i. e. the *divine nature*, for becoming the *Son of man*; and says, it terminates on the whole person, both *God and man*. And shall it ever be said, that the *supreme possessor* of all perfection can be rewarded with a gift of authority, or receive any commission? And tho

Mr. B. would avoid this by the former paradox, saying, that nothing is given but what he had originally, yet herein he is not very consistent, either with reason or himself; for since he calls the *Son's sole trust* and administration a *privilege*, beyond his ruling in common with the *Father*, I would fain know whether he had that privilege *originally*, or whether this was not a new acquirement. He grants it to be *new*; so that it seems that as *God supreme*, he can receive new privilege, and become *better and greater* than he was before. Is this the Trinitarian faith of God?

3. This is inconsistent with the divine *Unity*, for one to *resign*, and another to *receive* the administration; one to be voluntarily *excluded*, and the other *solely entrusted*. It agrees well enough with *two* beings and two wills, and with his instance of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, which is nothing to his purpose, unless he will make God and his Son to be a *pair* of infinite beings, which he denies, but yet his reasonings do plainly insinuate it. The same *single will* cannot resign and take; cannot both quit, and exercise the administration of all. This implies two parties and two wills, as the different subjects of that power and mutual consent, and managers of those various administrations.

P. 24. 4. It seems inconsistent with Mr. B. himself, who had said often that the *Father sustains the place of supreme lawgiver*, and intimates that the *Son leaves the rights of his sovereignty on the Father's hands, and takes on him the office of a Mediator*. If then Jesus Christ have not finished his *mediation*, as he has not, how can he be entrusted, or solely entrusted with the supreme authority, while at the same time he has left the *rights of the sovereignty* with the Father? Or how has the *Father* devolved the sole exercise upon

P. 26.

upon the *Son*, if himself sustain the place of supreme *Rector*? Mr. B. says, that Jesus Christ has this *sovereign dominion over all, in the capacity of Mediator*. And yet it seems in *that capacity* he had left his sovereignty in the *Father's hands*. So that the Father is supposed to have the *rights* of sovereignty devolved upon himself, at the same time as he is pretended to have devolved them on his *Son*; and that while he is in the place of supreme Ruler, he has quitted the rule to the *Son*. These things seem most repugnant to each other, as well as to reason. And this is contrary to what the *Trinitarians* determine in their systems; for there the question, *An Christus solus jam dominetur in ecclesia, non vero Pater?* is answered with a *negatur contra Socinianos*. P. 25.

Turret.
Compend.
p. 124.

5. 'Tis evident that this authority, *as given*, is made the reason of the *Son's* honour. Now if the Father's devolving the *sole* exercise on the *Son* be the ground of divine worship or honour, then while the Father has not this *sole* exercise, nay has devolved his whole right on another, hath he not quitted this ground of divine honour? And to say the truth, Mr. B. makes the Father's gift to lie in divesting himself of his glory, so that he has *less* rule than he had, and yet the *Son* has *no more* than before. This is to honour the *Son*, and not the *Father*, by supposing he has laid by the *grounds* of divine worship, and conferred it only on his *Son*, himself quitting the exercise of original power.

6. This supposed oeconomy of Mr. B. carries in it many injurious reflexions upon the honour and perfections of the blessed God.

It supposes that 'tis a happiness for one person to have all the government in his hands, and to get the whole from the other *two*; so that it seems 'tis

'tis not so well for that *one* person, when the *Father* has his part again: for this *sole* exercise Mr. B. calls a privilege, and therefore when the *Son* gives up his kingdom, he resigns a great privilege of his *divine* nature, for to that Mr. B. supposes the gift belongs.

Mr. Howe.

We have sometimes been told by one of Mr. B's brethren, that *Society* in the divine nature is *delicious*, and a great happiness; and therefore there are necessary *emanations* of several persons. But then how comes it to pass, that society in government is so grievous, that it should be such a *privilege* for one of them to have the other's rights conferred on him?

P. 33.

Sure that society should be as pleasing in government, as in any thing else. And it should be best for the three persons to rule alike, as they did before Christ's reward, and must do hereafter; when Mr. B. says, *All will revert to the natural order, and then Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, shall be jointly concerned in the administration of government.* If this be their *natural* order, methinks this should never be altered by a *voluntary dispensation*, since the divine persons must be supposed to have all advantages and excellencies *naturally*, in the most perfect manner. It is unreasonable to suppose that Jesus Christ can have this *power* by any voluntary gift, in a better manner than he had it *originally*, and by nature; so as that it should be any privilege to have their natural order *inverted*.

Besides that 'tis no privilege to the *Son*, who, Mr. B. says, *has all power originally*, to have it now as a *trust*, for which he must be accountable. Nay, it seems no *privilege* any way to him, that the *Father* leaves the administration to *him*, who had all before; any more than 'tis any privilege to me, that another withdraws, and leaves
me

me to have all the *sunshine* to myself, who had it all before, as much as I can have by his retiring.

Upon the whole, I cannot but lament to see how wofully the holy Christian religion is, by such *invented* absurdities as these, exposed to the grievous scorn of infidels, while they see such *schemes* as this of Mr. B. (which indeed is the ground of his whole argument) representing God, his Son, and Spirit, not only as three several men for distinction, but also as to their temper and way of management; making them to parcel out the divine *regimen*, and one to devolve his part on the other, (as the Son at first leaves his rights with the Father, say the *Trinitarians*) and then to receive in his turn the other's part for a reward and gift; and then to give it back again, as at the last day the Son must. As if, like ambitious mortals, who furiously scramble for dominion, and labour to undermine each other, it were so among the three *persons* of the Godhead, that one should count himself raised to honour and *privilege*, by the other's divesting himself, and leaving all to him. So that according to Mr. B's scheme, one may plainly see, that it were more for the divine glory and happiness, that there were but one person in God; since he would have all the privilege of ruling without a sharer or competitor, which no doubt is the real truth of all. To such sad derision do some bold *disposers* of God Almighty expose him; as if they thought him (and had a mind to teach it to others that he is) like to themselves! Are these the venerable mysteries of Christianity? Of which I find not one word in holy writ; and therefore they must answer for the shame done to *Christianity* hereby, who have dared by such strained artifices to distort and abuse holy Scripture, that

that they may impose those violent absurdities upon the gospel.

I conclude then, that the *Son* of God being an inferior Being, is dignify'd by the *Father* as his *deputy*, and so is honoured subordinately by us; and then all absurdities are avoided. Another, and an inferior Being may easily receive from God, and have a dignifying gift of government, for the exercise of which, I allow the *fulness of the Godhead in him* does greatly enable him. And thus it appears, that the *authority* given for the foundation of his honour, is a *subordinate* power vested in him as an inferior dependent Being, and subject to the *Father*; and consequently that the worship resulting from it cannot in the highest sense be *divine*, but inferior, whatever strained evasions Mr. B. so unhappily advances.

P. 134.

Let me only add under this *head*, that it will plainly appear to be only an *inferior* worship which Jesus Christ claims by that text, *John* 5. 22, 23. from Mr. B's own argument, which he brings to prove, that the *Devil* claimed no more than inferior worship from him on the mountain, *Mat.* 4. *Luke* 4. 6. He says, The devil only claimed *such inferior respect*, as was due to one constituted a God over this lower world, or as one who had a power over all the kingdoms of it delivered to him; so that he could give it to whom he would. But how does he prove this? Why, 'tis merely from the Devil's saying, *All this power is delivered to me*. Now if the words will prove that the Devil did not demand more than inferior worship, then I am pretty sure, that our Lord Jesus's words must prove the same of him, that he intended to claim only *such inferior* honour, when he goes upon the same reason,

reason, viz. because all judgment was committed to him, or delivered to him; and withal he tells us from whom, viz. from the *Father*, which the Devil does not there own. One may challenge Mr. B. to make his argument good here without being forced to grant, that it will afford a good argument to prove, that the worship spoken of by Jesus Christ in that text is only inferior worship; since his words do more fully express that, which Mr. B. in the Devil's case says can only imply inferior respect. Only whereas the Devil not only pretended to more power than he had right to, but had impudence and malice enough to demand what was unreasonable, even on that pretended reason; our Lord Jesus on the contrary had a just claim to his dominion, and would seek no more respect than is due to the grounds on which he claims it. So that tho the Devil should, and perhaps really did, require an unjust thing, and even vie with *God himself*; yet the holy Jesus would never be guilty of it.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

I. *The paying inferior religious worship to Jesus Christ does not intrench on the peculiar honour of God.* 1. *Not from the nature of the thing itself.* 2. *Not from Scripture-testimony or example.*

II. *The allowing of inferior religious worship to Jesus Christ will not clear Pagans or Papists from the charge of idolatry: For,* 1. *All idolatry is not founded on the nature of the act.* Nor, 2. *is it true that the Pagans did only give inferior or subordinate worship to their idols or Dæmons.*

SECT. I.

HAVING thus proved and cleared this Point, viz. That Jesus Christ is an object of inferior worship, and consequently that his being worshipped does not prove him to be the most high God; I proceed to vindicate it from Mr. B's exceptions: tho as to what he objects against giving truly *divine* worship to him on the *Unitarian* grounds, I need not take notice, because they deny *supreme* divine worship; yet that on their principles he may have inferior religious worship, I think I may easily justify against all his objections, which may be reduced to two.

1. He says, that *it intrenches on the peculiar honour of God, to pay any kind of religious worship to any inhabitant of the invisible world, but himself:* Which is in effect to say, it is idolatrous to worship the man Jesus Christ, tho with inferior religious homage.

2. That on the *Unitarian* Principles both *Papists* and *Pagans* may justify their worship of creatures, from any charge of idolatry. These two objections

objections I hope fully to silence, as going upon mistaken grounds.

First, he says, it intrenches upon the incommunicable honour of God, to worship any one else (even Jesus Christ, if not the supreme God) with any religious worship, tho inferior. This I deny. And here he gives us a very lame notion of *religious worship*, as oppos'd to *civil*: By *religious worship*, says he, *I understand such worship, as the religion we profess directs us to pay to some inhabitant of the invisible world.* But why does he say, *to some inhabitant of the invisible world*, when he denies that our religion directs us to pay worship to any other of those inhabitants, but God alone? He might more clearly have said, he means such worship, as our religion directs us to pay unto God. And if this be his notion of religious worship, 'tis nothing to the purpose to say, that this is all appropriated to God; for Mr. E. never pretended that any *such* divine worship should be given to any other, but only a *different* kind of *subordinate* respect. But if Mr. B's meaning be, that there must be nothing of any external semblance or likeness in our very bodily postures or words, when we shew our respects to men, to what we use in our worship of God; 'tis a very weak assertion, contradicted by the allow'd examples of good men, who have bowed their bodies to angels and men too, much lower than now is used in the worship of God. No difference may be perceiv'd in the outward act, tho there be enough manifest from the known difference of the object, as Mr. B. himself confesses, p. 125.

Mr. E. had shown, that some such worship (that is, such in the general sound and sense of the Letter) is ascrib'd to the Lamb slain, *i. e.* the human nature of Christ, as to God. The words are the same, *Blessing, honour, and glory be to him* Rev. 5. 13.
that

that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb: And yet the Lamb standing among the Elders before the midst
Ver. 6. of the throne, and God represented as *sitting on the throne* of majesty, made a sensible difference of the two objects, enough to distinguish the nature of the worship or praise; as Mr. B. supposes in the instance of the people's *bowing their heads, and worshipping God and the king (David)*.
1 Chron. 29. 20. Mr. B. supposes the people first bow'd to God, and then faced about and made another bow to the king; but the text takes no such care to make that distinction. And it may be another will think it as reasonable to say, the Angels first made their acknowledgments to God on the throne, and then did it again distinctly to the Lamb. However, here was no danger of mistaking this latter for more than a subordinate worship. And for his demanding *what instances the author can give of such doxologies being ever apply'd to ordinary men or the highest angel*, 'tis a poor and vain flourish, when he knows the Unitarians give honour to Jesus Christ on grounds proper to him only, who alone is exalted to be Mediator and head.

I come now directly to oppose his assertion, by shewing that all *religious worship* is not appropriated to God alone, as his peculiar. He affirms it to be so, both in the nature of the worship, and by the testimony of the Scriptures. I deny both.

1. *First*, 'Tis not so in the *nature* of the thing itself; for all religious worship is not supremely divine worship (as Mr. B. asserts) nor does it suppose *infinite* perfections in its object. Then indeed all religious worship of any but God, would be idolatry, or supreme worship given to an undue
Ib. p. 230. object: whereas his great friend Dr. *Whitby* allows, that there is *inferior* worship, which is not
idolatry,

idolatry, but superstition only; because tho it be religious worship, yet it is not in its nature truly divine. And indeed if there be such a thing as *inferior* worship in its very nature, it is so far from being appropriate to God, that it agrees not to him at all. He would be affronted by such mean respects. But with Mr. B. there can be no such thing as *inferior*, no religious worship, which is not supreme and *divine*. Let us examine his reasons.

All such worship, says he, *supposes the being, to whom we pay it, to have such unlimited perfections of knowledge, power, presence, &c. as belong to none but God.* This I justly deny; for Jesus Christ may have knowledge and power enough to answer my occasions, without being infinite therein. And Mr. B. can never make it out that this should be the reason, on which St. John's worship was refused by the Angel, *as injurious to God, to whom alone it was due*, as he speaks, p. 140. Nor could this be the reason why Jesus Christ refused to worship the *Devil*, when talking with him visibly, *Luke 4.* which yet is the text from which Mr. B. endeavours to prove his point. P. 133. Will he pretend, that the *Angel* could not hear St. John, nor do him any office of favour; nor the *Devil* know of Christ's worship, without being supposed to have unlimited perfections? Would not less than omniscience and omnipresence serve the turn? since it required no more in them, than is in an ordinary man to whom we speak or bow. Is this divine worship in the *nature of it?* or any of that idolatry, which, he says, is *founded in the nature of things*, and not only on the command? So that he must find out some other reason, than from the *nature* of the thing, before he can *condemn* all religious worship given to another besides God, as idolatrous

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or sinful, from such instances of Scripture: for on what reason soever the Angel discouraged *John*, and Jesus Christ the *Devil*, 'tis certain 'tis not on Mr. B's ground, as tho' it supposed the object to be of *infinite* perfections; for his instances make all against him and the reason he goes on, because they all relate to persons present, which supposes no such perfections in them to receive worship, as might be supposed in the worship of one absent.

Nay, I truly think, from St. *John's* worship of the angel, that it appears, there may be a religious worship of an inhabitant of heaven, which is not *divine* in its nature, nor idolatrous: Else if all such worship be so, it makes St. *John* the *Divine* to be a grievous idolater, and that *twice*: For Mr. B. supposes that he offered to the Angel what was appropriate to *God*, and to his injury, which he judges to be idolatry. So then I don't see but St. *John* fell as grievously as St. *Peter*, who denied his Lord thrice, and the other committed idolatry twice, if it was real matter of fact, but however it shews St. *John's* inclination. This is strange, that so long after he had received the *Holy Ghost*, and been a confirm'd ancient *Apostle*, he should not know what was *Idolatry* in the nature of the thing, or by God's command; nor yet perceive it, after he had been once warned by the Angel: I believe rather, that he sinned not at all, as Mr. B. supposes, and that the Angel refused the honour on another score; an *Apostle* being not much inferior or unlike in office to an Angel. The Angel's reason is, *I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren, that have the testimony of Jesus*. Just so St. *Peter* refused the honour from *Cornelius*, not because it was *divine*, but, says Mr. *Baxter*, it was *unmeet for an humble man to own it*. Had St. *John* thought the Angel

P. 126,
140.

Paraph.
on Acts
10. 26.

Angel refused it from the sinfulness of the act, he had never offered it so soon again, as he did.

Rev. 22. 8, 9. *And on work say bus (nam quod)*

And I may add, That if this *Apostle* did, after the writing his *Epistles*, thus think that some religious worship might be given to an *Angel* when present, then he never intended to forbid such worship (consequently not all worship of others besides God) in his caution, *Keep yourselves from idols*: tho to worship Angels, when not present, may yet be inexcusable.

The like I argue from the worship, which our Lord Jesus received when on earth, as a prophet.

Mr. B. brings this as a proof of his Deity: *If, P. 126.* says he, he were not *truly God*, he should in all reason have been as tender (as the Angel) of the divine honour, in refusing all external acts, that looked like religious homage.

Now Mr. B. must by this intend, that Christ received this on account of his being God, and so as *divine worship*; else it cannot prove him to be God by receiving it. I would then ask him whether this worship was given by the worshippers with any such intent; I believe he will not say they intended it otherwise than to worship him as a prophet, and so as holy messengers of God used to be revered; if not so, then it must have been idolatry in them to give God's honour, or what in the nature of the thing was divine worship, to one whom they judged not to be God. And would the *blessed Jesus* have been so little tender of the divine honour, as quietly to receive idolatrous worship, and not reprove them? We are told, that he rebuked the young man, who gave him only the *title* of *Good* Matth. 19; *Master*, while he did not judge him to be the most high God, tho the *Trinitarians* say he was really so *incognito*. If it were really so, then it is

most strange that he, could from time to time suffer men to worship him (nay even the *same* young man) and yet shew no dislike. Was not giving him religious worship (according to Mr. B.) a more direct and undoubted proclamation of his Deity? And did it not more apparently carry with it an ascription of divine glory to him, than barely to say *good master*? Would he then have borne it to be made an *idol* by them by undue worship? Be sure he that refused the *semblance* of a divine title, would much more have done the same by *divine* worship; tho the offerers no more intended it for *such*, than he who gave that *title* did intend it for a divine attribute.

No, no, our Lord Jesus took it as the worshippers gave it, viz. for an *inferior* religious worship, or *moral* reverence due to him, without any regard to his (supposed) Deity. Nay, if either *Jesus Christ* or the *Angel* looked on it as *divine* worship in its very *nature*, how come they to be so calm? We find how such a business raised the indignation of *Paul* and *Silas*; *They rent their clothes, &c.* Had not Jesus Christ nor the Angel any of this *tenderness* for the divine honour? Or rather they had not such a provocation.

Acts 14.
13, 14, 15.

Thus I conceive Mr. B's notion appears most false, in asserting all religious worship given to any inhabitant of the invisible world, or to *any other but God*, to be *divine in its own nature*, i. e. supremely divine. And tho his definition of religious worship limits it to any other inhabitant of the *invisible world*, yet 'tis plain in his proofs, he extends the case to all religious worship of others also.

To bring the matter nearer, let us inquire, whether his argument will hold in reference to the

the worship of such inhabitants of the *invisible* world, as are absent from us; whether all worship of any such, besides God, does in the nature of it ascribe infinite perfection to its object. This also I deny, because it is possible another besides God may know and do as much, as such worship may imply, tho his perfections be not equal to those of the *supreme* Being. And this is what is really supposed in Jesus Christ. It does not necessarily suppose *infinite omniscience*, to know (some way or other) all that passes in this little spot of earth.

It must be granted that Jesus Christ, as a *Mediator* of worship, is as really supposed to know our prayers and wants, as when he is an object of it, and I hope, that as *man*, he does mediate and intercede, and is our agent. Dr. *Whitby* tells us, what is implied in being our *advocate* with God: speaking of the *Romish* practice of praying to *angels* and *saints*, as advocates for men, he says, 'tis built on this supposition, That they know our prayers and hopes; for, says he, *who knows not that to be our advocate, is to commend our cause to God, and to intreat that our desires be granted? And who knows not, that our cause cannot be commended, nor our desires represented, till they be first understood?* Since then Jesus Christ is our advocate with the *Father*, and intreats for us, it must be said, that he knows our case some way; and sure 'tis not in his divine nature he prays to the *Father*, (supposing such an one.) Does the supreme divine nature pray to any? Or does God Almighty in *one mode* intercede with himself in another? If then the man Jesus Christ does intreat for us, if he be our advocate, and that for this end he is entered into heaven, (which only can belong to his human nature; for if he had a *divine* one, that was as much there before)

fore) then in all reason, this *man* Jesus Christ must know our case before he plead it, and in that same nature which pleads it. God, who has exalted him to that office, has some way or other capacitated him for it: and this is a sufficient ground for worshipping him as *Mediator*, tho it be far from implying him to be equal in perfection to that God with whom he intercedes, and consequently is no ground for supremely *divine* worship.

P. 90.

To this forcible argument, Mr. B. seems at a loss what to answer, by his saying, *That 'tis sufficient, that the divine nature discerns our distresses; and the remembrance of his own sufferings in our nature renders him a compassionate intercessor.* But what is this to the purpose? The question is, how his human nature can sympathize with, or intercede for us, without knowing all our cases? To this he says, 'Tis sufficient the *divine* nature knows. What! is this sufficient to make the human nature know? Does not he say, that *this* was ignorant of what the *divine* nature knew in the matter of the *judgment-day*? So that 'tis no way sufficient, to say the *divine* nature knows all our distresses, unless the human know it also, (which does not follow from the *divine* nature's knowing it) because to intercede is an act of the human nature and understanding. Or does he mean, that 'tis sufficient to render the human nature capable of intercession, that the *divine* nature knows our cases, tho itself, that must act in it, knows them not? This is to say, that the man Jesus Christ intercedes for he knows not *what*, nor *whom*; and is a compassionate advocate in a case he never heard of; and asks for he knows not what of his Father on their behalf, as not knowing what they need. Is this the encouraging account, which the Scripture

cure gives us of our compassionate High-Priest?

An Angel or Saint can intercede thus in general.

Therefore in the next words he is forced to suppose the *divine nature may communicate to the human the knowledge of our particular cases*. And hopes to get off by adding, That *tho we should allow such knowledge to be communicated to his human nature, by revelation from his divine, yet I don't see that this would prove an universal knowledge, &c.* Now the allowing this supposition will serve Mr. E's purpose: for not to dispute, whether this knowledge of *all Christians* particular cases may be called universal, since it extends to *all*, and even implies the knowledge of their *hearts*, else little or nothing of their case is truly known at all; nor whether this be not as much as the Scripture ascribes to Jesus Christ: yet I hope Mr. B. may see, that this knowledge by revelation of our cases in particular, is however enough for us to ground our worship and addresses upon, tho we do not suppose him *omniscient* or *omnipresent*, as God is. For what greater knowledge, I wonder, does *prayer* to him as Mediator suppose, than that he knows our cases and our prayers? And if the *human nature* may know this *by revelation*, then the making him an *object of worship* does not imply him to be the *supreme and infinite God*, as Mr. B. pretends. Thus his reason is utterly lost, by which he would prove the religious worship of Jesus Christ to be in its *nature* truly divine, as implying infinite divine perfections; since without *such perfections*, here is a way supposed by *himself*, in which he may be qualified to know our addresses, as much as is needful for justifying us in offering them to him.

*Idolat. of
the Rom.
Church,
p. 223.*

And whereas he refers us to Dr. *Whitby* for proof that the antient Fathers, *in the purest ages, did disclaim all religious worship of any but God alone*; I can make it appear from that very learned Doctor's own words (with what consistency I heed not) that the chief of them, whom he instances in, did expressly deny at the same time, that ever they gave *equal* honour to Jesus Christ, and to God his Father; and also that the worship of Christ depended plainly on the *Father's grant of honour* to him: which because the *Pagan Demons* could not justly pretend to, their worship was for that very reason condemned by Christians.

2. Secondly, Let us in the next place see, if he can prove by *Scripture-testimony*, that all religious worship was appropriated to God, so as that no other can be capable of so much as inferior worship. If Mr. B. can maintain this, (tho he has certainly mistaken the ground on which such worship is limited to God only, it not being so in its nature, yet) this shall be enough to decide the cause with me, who desire to walk exactly by the Scripture-rule, and only reject those *Trinitarian* opinions, which I think the Gospel never asserts; but magisterial men would shew their dominion over our faith, in imposing them upon us.

The proof from Scripture (besides such instances of *Peter's* refusing the worship of *Cornelius*, and the Angel that of *John*, the vanity and weakness of which I have already shewn) that he insists on, is our Lord's reply to *Satan*, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* Whence Mr. B. concludes, that our Saviour has determined it, that no religious worship is to be given to any but God; and he adds, "That the Devil did not claim *divine*
" *worship*,

Luk. 4. 10.

P. 134.

"*worship*, but such an *inferior respect* which
 "was due to one constituted a God over this
 "lower world; yea, a *relative worship*, which
 "ultimately referred to the *honour of the giver*,
 "*Luke 4. 6.*" But adds he, "Our Saviour re-
 "jects his demand, not by denying the Devil's
 "pretence to such power, but by telling him he
 "demanded what was God's incommunicable
 "right, and what he could not claim, had his
 "pretensions been never so true. And that
 "Jesus Christ gave a weak answer, and the
 "Devil was a weaker disputant to take it, if
 "that text only denied *supreme worship* to be
 "given to any other than God, and not *all*
 "*worship.*"

Here he thinks he has gained the victory, and
 is ready to triumph; but may receive some check,
 if he consider how weak the foundations of his
 arguments are. For,

1. It cannot be denied, that the *precept* re-
 lated by Christ is to be taken under some li-
 mitation; and that it does not forbid *all manner*
of worship or homage whatever to other than
 God. For then no homage might be paid to
 any *prince* or *parent*, which is *civil* worship, yea
 and *religious* too, as 'tis given on a religious ac-
 count, from conscience toward God, and reve-
 rence to his *image* and authority, which magi-
 strates bear. Nor would Jesus Christ have re-
 ceived this worship of *Prostration* (for that was
 all that was in dispute) from such as respected
 him only as a prophet, if it was not lawful to
 give to any but God such religious homage. Be-
 sides, 'tis plain, the *Jews* never thought prostra-
 tion to a man, nor to an *Angel*, to be against this
 law: and since the Devil requires, and Christ pleads
 against bare prostration, or only falling down be-
 fore him, it follows that if it be lawful to bow
 or

or fall prostrate before any other than God, *viz.* Man or Angel, then it is certain Jesus Christ did not mean, by repeating this command, to forbid this very act of worship to all others but God; which yet he did forbid to the Devil. It was a reason against worshipping *him*; on some special ground, which might not reach to all others, to whom it may be allowed to fall down, and do *homage*, as to superior powers in subordination to God: or else it must relate only to supreme *divine* homage and adoration, and not to all inferior worship. Well then, since Mr. B. cannot say, that *all prostration* to another but God is here forbidden, it is requisite that we inquire,

2. *What sort of worship* the Devil might intend by it, and which our Lord intimates to have been forbidden in that law which he cites, that so we may see what limitations are to be given to it.

Mr. B. says, that we are to understand it of *all religious worship*, which is only to be given to God: but I say that we may as well limit it to *supreme* or *ultimate* religious worship; and that on due consideration it will be found, that either the Devil requir'd *divine*, or at least absolute *ultimate* worship, or else but *civil* worship; and consequently that Christ in shewing the unlawfulness of *that worship*, which he required, did only prohibit *such worship*. For 'tis plain to me, that the Devil did not claim an *inferior subordinate* worship, as Mr. B. pretends; since by *such religious worship* is always, I think, understood a serious reverential respect to persons for their *moral* excellencies, or their *sanctity*, and near *relation* to God. Now I wonder, what pretence Mr. B. thinks the Devil had to this *moral* religious reverence. Did he set up for a Saint or a Prophet of God,

or pretend to any sacred spiritual office in the church, or in heaven under God; or demand worship that might be ultimately refer'd to God? No, he never pretends any such thing. Therefore, it was either a sort of *civil* homage, or *ultimate* inferior respect, or *supreme* divine worship, that he sought.

(1) Let it not seem strange, that I say it might be *civil* homage; for do but observe how the Devil states his claim. He represents himself as a mighty *puissant* prince of spacious dominions, who had great offices, preferments, and kingdoms to bestow on his *favourites*; and on this account he demands homage of Christ, by falling down to worship him, as the *eastern* people used to worship their kings. This seems plainly to be a doing homage to him, as a secular Prince, or *God of this world*. Had the Devil sought to be worship'd when *absent*, or in some *idol temple*, it might have look'd more like *religious* worship; but he only seeks worship when *present*, and making a pompous shew of his grandeur: I think this looks very like *civil* worship. But,

(2) If Mr. B. will have it to be *inferior* religious worship, then I say it was at least *ultimate worship*, such as no way was in *subordination* or reference to God, on whom all worship ought to terminate ultimately, or 'tis sinful. For the Devil sets up in *opposition*, not in *subordination* to God, and was so consider'd by our Lord Jesus; and I utterly deny, that he ever pretended to such worship, as *should ultimately refer to God as the giver*. For he never says one word, that *God was the giver* of his dominion, or had *constituted him a God over the world*, as Mr. B. pretends. Much less do I believe, (supposing Jesus Christ had so understood him) that our Lord did not in his answer intend

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intend to deny such a false pretence. To suppose the Devil has a *subordinate* dominion under God, relative to him *as the giver*, is to suppose an orderly agreement between God and the Devil. But *what communion has light with darkness? What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness?* Our Lord must never be suppos'd not to have deny'd this in his answer. Nor does he any way insinuate, that had this pretence of a just subordinate authority been true, yet no homage could be given him in subordination to God, without intrenching on God's incommunicable right. All this is unwarrantably feign'd by Mr. B. and not express'd or imply'd in Christ's words. His answer was, *Thou shalt worship God, q. d.* I am bound by this law to do homage to the God of *Israel*, and therefore must not do it to thee his avowed enemy, which would be a breach of my alliance to God. And *only him shalt thou serve; i. e.* I must be under *no government but his*, and therefore I will *not own thine*, which would be a revolt from him, whose subject I am. I think this is a very fair and natural sense of his words; or *Thus, q. d.* All worship must ultimately relate to God, who is *the only fountain* of honour and power, and *he only* must be *the end* of all worship. Therefore I'll give no homage, of which he cannot be the end, and in which he is not acknowledg'd nor honour'd.

Now supposing this to be the case, then the words, *Thou shalt worship the Lord, and him only shalt serve*, are only spoken in opposition to *enemies*; and will only exclude from worship, or all sort of homage, any *usurper* and *opposer* of God, that has no authority from him, and whose worship can have no relation to

to him at all: so that there is good consequence in this, *Thou shalt worship God only*, as the ultimate object of all worship and honour; and therefore thou shalt not do homage to his enemy and rival, because tho in other subordinate worship, God is relatively and ultimately worship'd in the worship of his authoriz'd substitute, yet this worship of a declar'd enemy has no relation to him, and can no way be reduc'd to this head of worshipping God, as the other may. He that honours the son or servant, honours him who sent him; but so does not he, who does honour to an open foe: and therefore Christ rejects it by proving that we must worship and serve God, which is all that the text cited by him says, (tho the Septuagint had added the word *only* afterwards, which Deut 6. 13. the Evangelist in gross repeats) for the obligation to serve God, as his subjects, is reason enough, upon which to refuse doing homage to an enemy. And indeed our Lord does not say, him only shalt thou worship, but *him only shalt thou serve*; teaching us that there the stress of the contest lay, and that what the Devil requir'd was not so much a sacred devout adoration, as a doing service to him as a subject to his prince, or owning his government and dominion, as *God of the world*, by a token of subjection that was common in the world: whereas we must *only serve* God, i. e. ultimately, whether immediately or relatively; and therefore may not perform homage to his adversary, as Christ teaches us: since there is no just power, but that which is from God, not what is opposite to him. Yet,

(3) I must confess, that when I look into Deut. 6. 13, 14. whence the words of Christ are said to be taken, the context seems to intimate, that the precept refers to *divine* worship, because the words following are, *Ye shall not go after other*

other Gods, the Gods of the people. And then 'tis no wonder if Christ refus'd the Devil *divine* worship upon the warrant of this text, teaching us to do the same, when yet some inferior worship may be due to himself, as one under God. Nor do I see any weight in Mr. B's objection, viz. That the Devil could not demand such *supreme* worship; since we know he has always proudly and wickedly aspired to *rival* God, and to be in the place of the most High: and tho his saying, *all this is delivered to me*, may seem to imply his owning a superior power, which makes his claim to *supreme* honour very unreasonable; yet who need wonder if the Devil desire an unreasonable thing? Mr. B. seems to rely too much upon the Devil's *modesty* in this matter, which I am very prone to call in question; and I doubt it will puzzle Mr. B. to vindicate it in another respect, in this very affair of Christ's *temptation*: for since the Gospel tells us, the Devils *knew who Jesus Christ was*, what an unaccountable thing was it in them to go about to tempt Jesus Christ to sin, if indeed they knew him to be their *infinite* God? Could they be so foolish as to think to overcome and baffle God? Nay, could they be so foolish as to hope to entice God to worship the Devil, tho with inferior worship? This Mr. B. supposes without difficulty; and cannot he then suppose the Devil to be so unreasonable, as to demand more than his real due? Nay, let me say, that to tempt God to sin was a foolish impossible attempt, which could no way gratify the Devil: and therefore some will conclude, that tho they *knew him indeed*, yet they knew him not to be God, else they had not done so foolish a thing. But as to such an unreasonable demand of supreme worship, tho it was unjust, (and not at all the more unlikely for that) yet it might be deem'd

Mark 1.

24 comp.
with ver.

34

deem'd possible, and very gratifying to his pride, and therefore it is not strange, if he sought it without reason or modesty.

As for the phrase of *all being delivered to him*, it may possibly denote only the *effect*, that he had it in possession, rather than the *manner* of his gaining it; for he mentions no author or *giver*, nor takes the least notice of receiving it *from God*: so that he rather intends by that expression, that the kingdoms of the world had delivered or yielded themselves into his hand as their ruler; of which he pretends an absolute independent power to dispose, as he pleases, to *whom he will*.

So that Mr. B. grounds his argument against the Devil's claiming divine worship from Christ on a weak surmise; for the Devil seems far from intending a *relative* worship, that should ultimately refer to *God the giver*, as he pretends. And (as was already hinted) I say again, that if the Devil's owning that all was delivered to him from God (supposing that) will prove that he could not justly (tho he might nevertheless unreasonably) claim *divine* worship; then it is very evident on the same ground, that when Jesus Christ owns all his authority was given him, (and that by *his Father* expressly) neither could he claim such worship on that ground, *John* 5. 22, 23. But if Jesus Christ might yet require *divine* worship, notwithstanding *such* expressions, then Mr. B. has no reason to suppose it inconsistent with the Devil's claim to the same. This seems unanswerable by Mr. B. who supposes divine adoration to be required for Jesus Christ in that text, tho against reason.

If it be said, how could the Devil pretend to *supreme* worship, if not to *subordinate* religious worship? I answer, *both* are unreasonable, but

but yet he does certainly aspire to *that supreme or absolute dominion*, which is a foundation of the former, but never to *that sanctity* of person or office, which is the ground of the latter.

See Limb.
Body of
Divinity,
2d Vol. in
Engl.
p. 539.

Wherefore if the Devil did aspire at *supreme or absolute worship*, then our Lord's denying that to him, or any but God, is no argument against the lawfulness of *inferior religious worship* to another than God; and the reason which he went on, imply'd in the command, will not relate necessarily to any worship, but that which he applies it to there. Therefore we may rest content with Mr. Baxter's judicious and wary comment on the text, who says, that the words *him [only] thou shalt serve*, exclude other Gods, and all competitors and opposites, but not others subordinate to God. To worship the Devil in competition with God, if he sought *divine worship*; or in *opposition* to, or *independently* on him, (as all homage done to an open enemy is) tho it were by inferior homage, is against the text and precept, which makes God *alone* the object of *supreme*, and the ultimate object of *all worship* whatever.

And thus Dr. Owen himself against Mr. Biddle, p. 140. says, *Where it is said, God only is to be worshipped, tho it do not exclude all others from any kind of worship, but that they may have what is due to them by God's appointment, from their excellence and pre-eminence; yet it does absolutely exclude any from being worshipped with divine worship.*

5. After all the rest, I might answer in short, That if the words cited by our Lord were pretended to prohibit all religious worship whatsoever of any besides God, yet it was a mere positive command, and might be necessary, when God had not as yet exalted a Mediator. For this

this was before he had given Jesus Christ a name above every name, to which all are to bow, as a reward of his sufferings. But now that God has made him both Lord and Christ, he has by a new Law required, that we honour and do homage not only to God, but to his only beloved Son also; for every new dominion and authority requires a suitable homage and honour from all under it. Acts 2. 36.

And yet here is nothing contradictory to the first command in all this; for this is not to set up another infinite God, or to make any other person God, but the one self-existent *He*; 'tis only an acknowledgment of his minister and Son, for we have one God, and one Lord besides. The Unitarians are so far from denying the morality Eph. 4. of that first command, that they are zealously tenacious of it, and think it the very basis of their cause, and a standing reproach to their adversaries. And indeed till the Trinitarians have clearly proved the repeal of that command, 'tis judg'd they will never reconcile their setting up three distinct persons, as objects of divine worship (one an unoriginate God, and two other dependent derivative) with the command of having no other God but (one single) me. While the Unitarians read this, that only one single person is to be accounted for their God, they can never hearken to them, who instead of no other God but me, would interpret the command thus, Thou shalt have no other God but us Three, or none but Me, Me, and Me, including three Me's in the one.

Thus it appears, that the Unitarians are far from robbing Jesus Christ of his due, if no divine worship was ever claimed by him; and as far from intrenching on the divine honour, by giving God's peculiar to one who is not God;

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since they give him that inferior worship only, which does not belong to the supreme, but is allow'd by him to his commission'd Son. But they seem to rob God of his glory, who give *divine* worship to another than him; and rob Jesus Christ too, forbidding that subordinate worship of him, which is granted to him of the Father. What he requires they deny, and what he never claims they pretend to bestow upon him.

However, I think it may be undeniably proved, that the *Trinitarians* have incurred this guilt of giving God's glory to another, which the *Unitarians* can vindicate themselves from, in another respect, and that is, in worshipping the *human* nature of Christ, which is as much a creature as any other man, let what union you will be pretended. And yet those ancient Christian *Fathers*, who are oft cited as pleading for the worship of God only, (whence some infer they held Christ for that God, because they worshipped him) did nevertheless admit this other object of worship. And he who can reconcile their worship of the human nature of Christ with that *maxim*, That God only is to be worshipped (with any sort of religious worship, as Dr. *Whitby* and Mr. B. take it to mean) may easily believe that the *Unitarians* can reconcile their worship of Jesus Christ with the same *maxim*. If the *Trinitarians* could worship the humanity because related to the *divinity*, why may not others also worship a man inhabited by it, tho not by personal union? It is as much a creature in the one case as the other.

Several learned men have shewn the common judgment of the *Fathers* to be for worshipping the *humanity*, as united to the *divinity*, (among whom I find *Athanasius* for one) and this was particularly manifested in their exposition of that

that text, *Psal. 99. 5.* which they read thus, *Worship ye his footstool.* (meaning probably, the ark.) Those *Trinitarian Fathers* were puzzled at this, because they judged it absurd to worship such an object as the letter of the text contained. To avoid this, they ran into this figurative interpretation of the words, saying, that by this *footstool* was to be understood the human nature of Christ, and this they thought might be adored. Their agreement in this point may be seen, in *Forbes's Instruct. Theol.* and Dr. *Stillingfleet's defence against Godden.* The former of these two learned men scruples not to say of Jesus Christ, *Adorandus, inquam, sine exclusione carnis, ab objecta seu termino adorationis.* And he ends the chapter with this conclusion drawn from the opinion and judgment of the *Fathers*: *Unica & sola ratio, propter quam humanitas Christi, lairia, soli Deo debita, absque idololatriæ crimine à nobis colitur, est unio hypostatica: i. e. The only reason why we worship the human nature of Christ, with that worship which is due to God alone (and yet without idolatry), is the personal union to the divinity.* Thus it appears, Christ's human nature has been used to be worshipped without any outcry against the idolatry of it. The like is asserted by Dr. Owen: *The human nature, says he, in the person of the divine, and together with it, is the object of all divine adoration, and no other creature.*

L. 7. c. 37.
Par. 2.
p. 714.

Person of
Christ, p.
308, 322.

I ask Mr. B. whether these men be not idolaters, as all the *Lutherans* also? And whether this has not been the common doctrine of the *Trinitarians*, whatever the straits to which they are now driven, may make them profess or turn to?

See *Turretine* on the question, *An Christus quæ Mediator, sit adorandus?* who owns that the af-

firmative (*i. e.* the worship of Christ as Mediator) had been admitted as a problem among the orthodox: but now seeing the advantage the Socinians made of that, he gravely intimates, they should be very cautious in allowing it. *Licet hæc quæstio prout inter orthodoxos agitatur, problematica sit, tamen alicujus momenti esse, post detectas Socinianorum insidias, proclive est intelligere.* Fain would they throw off the worship of Christ as Mediator, rather than the Unitarians should pinch them so hard with it: for they who worship him as Mediator, worship the created *humanity* along with the divinity, according to them.

Now is not this, even according to the *Trinitarian* principles about idolatry, more manifest idolatry, than any that can be pretended to be charged on the Socinians? For these profess to give only an inferior worship, as to an inferior being, which they think the Gospel warrants: but the *Trinitarians* profess Christ's human nature to be but a *creature*, and yet at the same time they profess to give it *divine* worship designedly; whilst they deny any religious inferior worship itself may be paid to any thing but God, and accuse it of idolatry. Can any thing be more absurd than this?

I wonder much if *Arius* found any difficulty to be quit with such *fathers* as *Athanasius*, who charged him with idolatry for worshipping *Jesus Christ* with inferior worship (for it could be no more in their design) whom they judged to be but a creature; when themselves could stretch their devotion, so as to extend *divine* worship to the *same creature* (of which they had much meaner thoughts) in the *same act* with which they ador'd the divine nature. I wonder with what shew of reason this can be vindicated from

from the crime of the grossest idolatry, to worship a professed creature with divine worship. It is a vain thing to think to excuse themselves, by saying, they do not worship the humanity itself, but *as and because it is united to the divinity*: Since as that union does not change the *human* nature into a divine nature; so neither does it hinder their worship from being *creature-worship*. And if it be idolatry to give divine worship to a creature, then for any to offer a reason why they do so, is only to offer a reason why they commit idolatry, instead of a proof that 'tis not such. Thus they worship a creature and a man (that is, according to them, they commit idolatry) because 'tis united to the divinity.

Thus I have vindicated the giving *inferior* religious worship to Jesus Christ on Unitarian principles, from being any way injurious to the honour of God, either from the *nature* of the thing, or from any positive law against it reveal'd in Scripture. Nay, 'tis to the glory of the *Father*, to have his Son honoured in a subordination to him. There are two other texts which Mr. B. mentions, to prove it to be idolatry to pay any religious worship to any other besides God, *viz. Rom. 1. 25. and Gal. 4. 8.* but to these I shall have a proper occasion to speak in answer to Mr. B's

Second argument against giving religious wor- SECT. II.
ship to Jesus Christ on the Unitarian principles,
viz. That this would clear Pagans and Papists from the charge of idolatry.

In answer to which, I shall shew that the worship of Jesus Christ, as *Mediator*, on the Unitarian grounds, does no way excuse the *Pagans* from the guilt of idolatry charged on them in the Scriptures; nor yet the *Papists* so far as

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they agree with them. Mr. B. supposes that the Heathens could no way be guilty of idolatry, by their worshipping creatures, unless all religious worship to any besides God be so. To make out this, he supposes two things, both of them very false.

First, That all idolatry is founded not on the bare command of God, but on the nature of the thing.

Secondly, That the Pagans did not intend to worship any of their idols with *divine* worship, but only with *inferior* worship; and seems to think that if they are cleared from idolatry in their giving inferior worship, they are wholly freed, since they gave no other. But,

1. I deny that *all* idolatry is (tho *some* may be) founded on the *nature* of the *act*, or that it ascribes infinite perfections to the *object*, and so respects it as *God*: for in some instances it depends on the mere *positive* will of God.

To prove this, I shall shew from some instances in Scripture, that there has been idolatry, which in the bare nature of the thing did not ascribe infinite or *divine* perfections to its object. I am satisfied that a great part of the idolatry of the world has been, not about the *last* object, but about the *medium* of worship; and that when they never ascribed any thing to it, which in the nature of it was *truly divine*, or God's incommunicable *right*, which Mr. B. supposes all idolatry does.

The second command is esteemed by *Protestants* to be the great bar to idolatry in the worship of *images*; and they have fully shewn, that in Scripture the worship of images is arraigned as idolatry. Now Mr. B. will not allow the *Pagans* to be so senseless, as to take their images for *real* Gods, or to worship them as such; much less

Is did the *Jews* so. 'Tis evident, the *Jews* did not worship the *Golden Calf*, but as a symbol of the divine presence, even that of the true *Jehovah*, *Exod.* 32. 4, 5. and yet it was gross idolatry, and so called, *Acts* 7. 41. *They made a calf, and sacrificed to the idol.* Yet I am persuaded here was nothing in this, that appears to be idolatry in the nature of the thing, as *that* imports the ascribing divine perfections to another than *God*: for to make an image, and set it up as a symbolical pledge of the divine presence, for *God* to dwell and operate in it, is not to ascribe any infinite perfection to it; because any material thing may be put to such an use if *God* please; and the Sacrifices offered thereto, or rather at them, are not offered to *them* designedly, but to *God* supposed to reside in them. And indeed the mercy-seat and ark, under the *Jewish* law, was a material symbol of *God's* presence, before which the sacrifice was presented, and the blood was sprinkled upon it for atonement, and incense burnt before it; and yet this was not idolatry in the nature of the thing, for then it had ever been sinful: tho, I doubt, it had been idolatry for the *Jews* to put the *Golden Calf*, or any symbol of their own appointment, to that sacred use; and to determine the divine presence and operations to it, and to present their services at it, to burn incense before it, and sprinkle it with the blood of a sacrifice. Not but that the *Golden Calf*, in its own nature, had been as capable of the *Shechina* as the other; but because *God* himself appointed the one, and not the other: so that it could only be idolatry from the mere positive will of *God*, which could make it to be so, or not, at his arbitrary pleasure; but in no case did it suppose infinite perfections to be ascribed

Lev. 16.

Stillings-
fleet's De-
fence, p.
859. 8vo.
Edit.

ascribed to the symbol or image; since the same thing was done, whether it was an appointed symbol, as was the *mercy-seat*, or a forbidden one, as was the *calf*. It is the command only makes the difference.

Nor is the reason of its being idolatry to offer worship to such a *medium* or symbol, to be taken hence, viz. because there was *no Deity* did reside there, and so the worship rested on the *symbol* or image, which was intended for the Deity supposed to be in it. For he who truly intends to worship the true God, as did the *Israelites*, are sure to find him every where, and that as an object of worship, whether there be symbol used or not; so that it can never fall beside him, unless he reject it, which depends on his pleasure, and not on the nature of the thing always.

Again, supposing God to set up an *inferior* being (and that Jesus Christ be he) as the common *Mediator*, to be the advocate, or the great *master of requests* in the heavenly court, to appear for us there; would it not be as manifest idolatry to pay the respect due to *his* office *alone*, to *another* of our own setting up, as to set up of our own head a *symbolical medium* of divine worship, or a graven *image*? As he who sets up a *vice-roy* in any province, and applies to, and acts under his Authority as such, when the sovereign prince has made *another* so by his commission, may be as truly guilty of *treason*, as he who sets up another *sovereign*: tho the vice-roy be far below his sovereign prince, and also the honour paid *him* be far below what is due to his chief lord, and is peculiar to him. For tho the honour paid to an *usurping* deputy or *vice-roy* be not what the chief sovereign ever appropriated to *himself* as incommunicable; yet it is his incommunicable right and prerogative to appoint who shall

shall be so honour'd. Even so, tho it be not God's incommunicable due to be worship'd with inferior worship; yet it is his due to appoint who shall be his *mediator*, and have that respect: and therefore to give that honour to another of our own establishing, is to intrench, tho not directly on his *worship*, yet on his *authority* in appointing the object of subordinate worship; and this is either *idolatry* or *rebellion*, or both, in misapplying religious worship, peculiar to the *Mediator*, to another self-devis'd object. And of this the *Pagans* were guilty, even while the *Unitarians* are excus'd, by respecting only the holy Jesus whom the *Father* hath seal'd, and set apart for that high and principal office, in which none must rival him.

Further, I think Mr. B. cannot deny, in some instances, that *idolatry* is merely from the positive command of God: for since he accounts all religious worship of *Angels* to be idolatry, or a giving God's *incommunicable due* to them, I demand, what there can be in the nature of the act, that looks like the giving God's due to them in this instance, something like to which Mr. Baxter supposes in his *Directory*. Suppose any Christian assembly (in which we learn, that the *Angels* are present) should pray indefinitely and generally to *such* *Angels* as are there to hear them, for what is in their power to afford; is here any more ascrib'd to them, than we ascribe to an ordinary man, of whom we ask an alms? If it be idolatry, 'tis not so from the nature of the thing. Had God bid me pray to *Angels*, I *Dying* would take it for my honour, says Mr. Baxter. *It Thoughts*, seems he did not take it to be idolatry in the nature of the thing. P. 155.

2. Secondly, I deny that the *Pagans* did only give inferior worship to their idols or *demons*:
for

Josh. 24.
14, 15, 16.

Rom. 1.
25.

for as they worship'd other idols besides their *demons*, viz. the visible creatures, the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Host of heaven*, and several others, whom they plac'd in the room of a *true* and supreme God, (which is the idolatry so often charg'd upon them in Scripture, and not always *demon-worship*) so the worship which they did give to their *demons*, was as great as any they gave to the Supreme, viz. all manner of sacrifices. Nor do I doubt but the vulgar people were wholly taken up with them, and minded no other Gods but the *demons* that inhabited their images, as they suppos'd; they worship'd the *creature*, passing by the *Creator*, as *Beza* renders it. They terminated all their worship in the *demons*, and so gave *truly divine*, or absolute worship to them, for which they were charg'd with idolatry. Nor is it of any force to tell us, that some of their subtle Philosophers reputed them only for *Dii inferioris notæ*, or subordinate Gods, constituted by the Supreme, and worship'd on the account of the power he had invested them with, &c. For we know the vulgar do not refine, as a few speculative *students* may do, as is apparent among the *Papists*, the vulgar of whom have gross thoughts of images, &c. which the nice scholars quite disown. This is plain in the case of their *image-worship*. Mr. B. tells us, That the *Pagans* were not so senseless as to take the *stocks* and *stones* for true Gods, and that they did not worship them, but the imaginary Deity dwelling in them: for this is what some of their learned apologists tell us, as we find in *Arnobius* and others. But yet 'tis plain, that the prophets charge the people even with the worship of the *idols* or *images* themselves; and tho it was a sottish absurd thing, yet that is the very argument they use in their reproofs, and reproach them for being so *brutish*.
They

They that make them are like unto them, and so is Psal. 115: every one who trusts in them. *Hab. 2. 19.* He saith to the dumb stone, *arise.* See but how the Prophet derides them, *Isa. 44. ver. 11,* to the 20th, That they should be so stupid, as to think by hammering and hewing it, to make a God of one part of the same tree as they had burnt in the fire, and roasted their meat with; and that they should worship and pray to it. And he says, *They could not see, they had no understanding,* not so much sense left as to say, *I have burnt part in the fire, and shall I make of the residue a God, shall I fall down to the stock of a tree?* The more monstrous and brutish a thing this was, the more likely it is to be what they are charg'd with; for the Prophet expressly says of them, they were Jer. 10. brutish herein. If they had such fine speculations¹⁴ and evasions, they could easily have wiped off all this reproach, and it had not been just to impute such ridiculous things to them, but to have answer'd their plausible pretences as to an indwelling Deity. Thus Origen says, *The multitude can't* Cont. Cels. bear to bear any one deny those to be Gods, whom they have been wont to worship. 376.

Much more were they like to terminate their chief worship in those demons or spirits, which they suppos'd to preside over those images, tho the learned took them for no more than inferior ministers of God; and thus there was idolatry in their demon-worship, in that they gave supreme worship to them; which has nothing parallel to the Unitarians case.

Nay, tho the Scripture takes no notice of their making any such distinction in their practice, as to this inferior relative worship, which Mr. B. supposes was all the Pagans gave; yet allowing that they did so, and that this worship was condemn'd too (as it must be) yet it might be so, as it intrench'd

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See Dr. S. intrench'd on God's honour, and peculiar right
Clarke's to appoint mediators. He can never shew that
 Sermon. vol. there was any thing in that subordinate worship,
 I. p. 57. which, in its own nature, ascribed infinite per-
 fections to those *demons*. And then since Jesus
 Christ is *authoriz'd* to be our Mediator, the *Uni-*
tarians are free from such injury to God's honour,
 as the Pagans were guilty of, in setting up medi-
 ators of their *own*.

P. 137. But says Mr. B. If this was the reason of the
 Heathens crime, that they worship'd uncom-
 mission'd *Heroes*, then the *Apostle* should have
fix'd his charge here, on their doing it without com-
mand and warrant from God, and not have made
it their crime to worship the creature beside the Cre-
ator, and to serve such as by nature are no Gods;
 since the *Heathens* might have retorted on the *Apo-*
stles, that they also worship'd a creature, and a
God by office, &c.

To this I answer, that it is a vain supposi-
 tion in Mr. B. that the *Apostles* should answer
 all the particular cavils and evasions of a few
learned adversaries among the *Pagans*, when they
 were reprovng the *current vulgar* errors only.
 The sacred writers are never wont to do thus,
 but content themselves with condemning the vul-
 gar errors, without considering the nice apologies
 of some that refin'd their notions by subtle spe-
 culations, while the common people ran into
 grosser notions; against whom the sacred cen-
 sures are utter'd, rather than against the subtle
few, who durst neither profess their more refin'd
 thoughts, nor yet go about to hinder the com-
 mon worship of their Idols; but join'd in
 it, tho they saw *them* worship'd with the
 highest worship by the people, whom they
 judg'd to be but *inferior* Gods, as is now among
 the *Papists*. So that if the *common people* gene-
 rally

rally worship'd their images and *dæmons* as *Gods*, this was ground enough for the Apostles to condemn them, whatever a few undiscover'd philosophers might think to say for their own particular excuse.

That I say not this without reason, may appear from a clear instance: 'Tis evident, as was said, that the Prophets very often reproach the *Heathens* for worshipping *stocks and stones*, their idols or images, and even scoff at them for a company of fools; yet Mr. B. knows that the *pagan* writers reply to this charge, in their defence against Christians, *that they were no such fools as to take the images for Gods, or to pay their worship to wood and stones: no, it was only to the indwelling Deities, who took up their habitation and operated in those images, &c.* with many more fine things of this kind, which are so well known to the learned, that they will not require particular testimonies: See *Lactant. l. 2. c. 2. Arnob. l. 6. Euseb. Præp. l. 4. Aug. de Civit. l. 8. c. 23, 24.* Now according to Mr. B's arguing, one must say, the Prophets cannot be justify'd in their charge against these *Pagans*, because they take no notice of *these replies* and evasions, which plainly overturn a great deal of the grounds of that charge. *They should have fixt their charge on this, that there were no such spirits or dæmons that did indeed dwell there, or that could claim any such worship if they did; and not have made it their crime to worship wood and stone,* which it seems they did not do save only as *mediums* of worship, or as *seats* of their Gods. Nay, they might have retorted on the Prophets, *How come you to reproach us as fools for worshipping wood and stones? Do we do more than you Jews? Have not you an habitation of wood and stones for your God, towards which you pray* and

and worship? Have not you a *symbol* of his presence in the *oracle*, where you offer *incense* and blood to your *mercy-seat* of gold, as much as we to our images? So that it seems this may be very lawful when we have God's command for it, And as for those excuses, that the *Pagans* ador'd their images *themselves*, and the like, I have shew'd from the patrons of *image-worship* among the *Gentiles*, that they disown'd all this. Now will this make us doubt, whether the *Prophets* did argue justly, because they answer not to these apologies of a few wiser men than the commonalty were? No, nor did the *Apostles* argue amiss, tho they take no notice of the apologies some made for *daman-worship*; while the vulgar had grosser notions among them of their *images* and *demons*, and minded none of these *fine artificial apologies*. And to these the *Prophets* and *Apostles* mainly address'd themselves, while the other wise men did not produce their exceptions, and so they were not regarded; but the charge was rightly fix'd still, according to the common sentiments and practice of them they argu'd with.

But indeed there is yet a further reason, besides what has been said, why the *Pagans* worship was idolatry, and from which, all that Mr. B. objects in this matter, may, in few words, be fully answer'd; leaving the charge of idolatry in full force against the *Pagans*, upon such a ground as will wholly clear the *Unitarians* from any share in that crime. And 'tis upon this reason, viz. because the *Pagans* did terminate their worship ultimately not in God, but in the creature, after all they said, even when they paid but an *inferior* or relative worship to their *demons* (as Mr. B. says they did, and no more,) they did not serve them in subordination to God, but to *idols* or creatures, to whom it was all refer'd: which I take to be clear from Scripture, which

which often assures us that the *Gentiles*, before they receiv'd the Gospel, had no knowledge of the *one true God*: They are describ'd thus, *At that time ye were without God in the world*, Eph. 2, 12. Again, *Ye then knew not God*, says St. Paul, Gal. 4. 8. i. e. they knew not so much of him, as to direct their worship to him, as is plainly intended there. They had *Gods many*, i. e. superior Deities; and *Lords many*, i. e. inferior powers, 1 Cor. 8. 5. Some held one for chief God, others another, Micah 4. 5. or rather the same people held several supreme Deities, viz. each in his several province and district; and none of them was accounted to be universally and absolutely supreme over all by nature, tho' comparatively some were greater in power than the rest, which is all that can be said of their mighty *Jupiter* himself, at least in the vulgar estimate it was no more: however the true God they had not among them *. Hence it was, that in the first command, God requires that we have no other God but him; i. e. not only that we

See Sandii Nucl. Appendix. p. 136. and Jurieu's Crit. Hist. Par. 4. c. 5.

have
* Even Dr. Cudworth in his Intellectual System, where it is his principal design to show that the Pagans acknowledged but one supreme God, yet speaks this of the more intelligent Pagans, p. 265. the more civilized, p. 478. of their natural theology, which, says he, was the theology of the wise men, p. 477. And yet even here, he is forced to admit, that it was notorious, that they did many times jumble and confound the one supreme God and their other many inferior Gods, without putting any due discrimination between them, notwithstanding at other times they did distinguish betwixt them, p. 255, 256. And again, says he, The poets made the several names and notions of the supreme God to be so many really distinct persons and Gods, inasmuch as sometimes to be at odds and variance with one another, even with Jupiter himself, p. 357. And again, The civil theology, (which he calls the theology of the vulgar) as well as poetic, had not only many phantastic Gods in it [probably what the Apostle alludes to Gal. 4. 8. τοῖς μὴ Φύσει ὄντι θεοῖς, by nature are not Gods, or there were no such Beings in nature] but also an appearance of a plurality of independent Deities, for that it made several supreme in their several territories and functions. p. 478.

have but *one* glorious supreme God; but that it be only *him* we take for such; even *him* who was the God of *Israel*, and brought them out of *Egypt*, as the preface shews: else a man may hold but one God, and yet be the grossest idolater, if with some he takes the *sun*, or *moon*, or created nature (either part or whole) to be that one God. Thus it was with most of the *Pagans*, either some famous ancestor, or some part of the heavenly host, was what they intended by their *Jupiter*, as learned men have shown; or if they worship'd some invisible spirit, which was represented by their images and symbols, and which gave out his oracles, &c. still this was not the true God of *Israel*, but he was the *Devil* indeed, whom they counted the true God. Thus we read, that the *Gentiles sacrific'd to Devils, and not to God* (as they perhaps thought.) And hence it may be that the Devil is call'd *the God of the infidel world*, 2 Cor. 4. 4. however, the true one God they knew not.

1 Cor. 10.
25.

Deut. 32
17.

Now since they had not knowledge of the true one God, their *supreme* worship must needs terminate in something else, and that must be a creature, or a fiction. So then in all their *daemon-worship* (which Mr. B. says was but subordinate and inferior worship) either they ultimately refer'd it higher, or not; if not, then it was not inferior but supreme worship, and so was rank idolatry: but if they did so refer it to a superior object, whom they held to be the supreme God, then that object not being *really* the true God, but a creature, and often the very *Devil*, it follows still that they terminated all in the creature; and so 'twas still the *same* idolatry, as if they had terminated all in the *daemon*, or in the image; the *first* object was

as good as their *ultimate*, and so they were not at all help'd by distinguishing their worship into subordinate and ultimate. Nor does Mr. B. gain any thing by this apology for them, since all their *demon-worship* was idolatry still, in being offer'd up ultimately to the creature, and in no subordination to God; either they terminated their worship on the *visible* symbol, or refer'd it to an *invisible* spirit, which was the Devil, (says the text) both which were creatures. And on these accounts it is that the Scripture constantly charges them with idolatry, and not for serving any allow'd mediate object of God's own setting up, and in subordination to himself. But what is this to the *Unitarians* worship of Jesus Christ? Are they guilty of any *such* thing? I mean, of any religious worship, that is not refer'd ultimately to the true *Jehovah*? or of worshipping any not subordinate to him? no, far from that. There is then no reasonable pretence of parallelling their worship, to that of the *Pagans*; against *these* the charge of idolatry lies in full force, while the *Unitarians* are fully justified and free.

The truth is, when Christianity had bore hard on the *beathen-worship* a while, then they began to refine, and their philosophers spake more freely against the gross notions of the vulgar, in their defence against Christians, than before: and therefore the *Christian Fathers* had more occasion than the *Apostles* to answer to such pleas, when the *Pagans* came to retort on the *Christians*, as Mr. B. says they might, if the *Christians* worshipped *Jesus Christ* as a subordinate constituted God, with the *Unitarians*. Accordingly we find it really came to pass so as he says; the *Pagans* did retort on *Christians* that very Argument, which Mr. B. thinks the *Apostles* might be

assaulted with, if they held with the Unitarians: for so Celsus pleads, that they did no more in worshiping dæmons, than the Christians in worshiping Christ: If, says he, the Christians worshiped nothing else but God, they might seem reasonable in their contempt of others; but when they do abundantly worship Him, who was of late original, and yet believe they offend not God in reverencing his minister, they are unreasonable. So that it seems the Pagans did so understand the christian doctrine, as to spy a place for their objection (of recriminating on Christians the worship of an inferior Lord) which in the Unitarian scheme there is room for (as Mr. B. observes) but not in his; and therefore the former seems to be the primitive doctrine.

Orig. cont.
Cels. l. 8.
p. 385.

L. 1. c. 20. So we find in Arnobius, that it was usual to object against the primitive Christians, that they worship'd a man in the worship of Jesus Christ. Not only the Gentiles, but the Jews also had such apprehensions, as appears in the case of Polycarp the Martyr, whom they supposed the Christians might worship on the same score as they worship'd Christ. But had they known, that the Christians reputed Jesus Christ for the supreme God by nature, they could scarcely have imagin'd, that they would leave off worshiping him to worship a mere man. And tho the church of Smyrna do disown the worship of any other Person but Jesus Christ, they plainly intend it of any other man, or of any other who is not the supreme God; him they worship'd as God's Son, but to no other, except God himself, they gave this honour. They can't mean, that Christ was the only object of worship (for that would exclude the Father) but the only man. And as such, the Jews charge them with worshiping him, which the

Euseb.
Hist. 1.
c. 15.

the learned *Daillé* acknowledges *. When I consider this passage, and others of *Celsus*, I am satisfied, that the *Jews* did very early begin to accuse the *Christians* of worshiping a *man*; and I wonder any should alledge their silence in not accusing *Christians* of idolatry, as an argument that the *Christians* did not worship a *creature*: for since they charged them with worshiping a *man* as God's minister, they either judged that worship to be against the first command, and so must count it *idolatry*; or did not reckon *all inferior worship* (supposing a divine command, which the *Christians* pleaded) to be *idolatry*, and so had no reason to charge them with it: but that they did impute to them the worship of another beside the great God, is very apparent.

The Apostle (says Mr. B.) should have fix'd his charge against the Heathens on this, that they worship'd their inferior Gods, *without a warrant* from the true God. Why, just so the primitive *Christians* did; for when the *Pagans* produced such apologies for themselves as Mr. B. mentions, viz. that they did but as *Christians* did in the worship of Christ, the *Christians* made that very answer, which Mr. B. dislikes in the *Unitarians*, viz. *That we Christians have the true God's command for worshiping Jesus Christ, which the Heathens had not for worshiping their demons*: for thus it was that *Origen* answer'd to *Celsus*. He asks him, whence he could prove L. 8. p. that God has granted to them (i. e. the *dæmons*) ³⁸⁴. to be honoured; and then he proceeds to shew, that to *Jesus Christ* he had granted this honour, from *John* 5. 23.

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* Clare significant se nullum alium hominem à Christianis religiose cultum scivisse, præter unum Christum. *Daillé de Cult. Relig. object.* P. 509.

292 *Of the Worship of JESUS CHRIST,*

This Mr. B. may find in Dr. *Whitby* himself, in his *Idol. of the Rom. Ch. &c.* so hard is it to write against the *Papists* and *Unitarians* with consistency.

Therefore, by the way, I wonder how that learned Doctor could pretend to prove *Jesus Christ* to be esteemed the true and supreme God by *Origen*, from his worship of him, *Tract. de Christi Deit.* p. 12, 14, 117. when yet himself owns, that *Origen* gave him only *inferior worship*, and deny'd him to be *the God who is Lord over all*, in that former Book, *Idol. Ch. Rom.* p. 223, 224, 356. Nay, he lately cites him again as denying *Jesus Christ* to be the object of proper prayer, in his *Paraphrase* on *John* 16. 23.

But because Mr. B. sends his reader to this Doctor for full proof in this dispute, I'll recite his words. *It is evident that Origen, by that expression, I and my Father are one, did not intend to argue the Unity of Essence, but of Affection only betwixt God and Christ; nor yet to say our Saviour was that God who is Lord of all, for this he expressly denies.* In the other place the Doctor's words are, *When Origen discourses of this subject, he usually says, that we must put up our petitions to God by Christ; and having once confess'd that we must pray directly to Christ, whom he conceiv'd to be inferior to the Father, he makes this distinction, that prayer may be taken properly, or in an improper and abusive sense, and in this sense alone he doth approve of prayer made to Christ.* And by this time one may judge, whether the learned Doctor had any great reason to send us to *Origen* among others; or Mr. B. to send his learned reader to the Doctor to know *Origen's* judgment in this matter: who, after all the worship of *Jesus Christ*, which he pleads for, does (by the Doctor's own representation, when out of this controversy)

troverſy) deſign no ſuch worſhip as might declare him to be the infinite God, but contrarily ſuch inferior worſhip as might ſhew that he thought him not to be ſuch.

Now I ſuppoſe his other teſtimonies have the ſame force; and if *Origen* could ſay the Chriſtians worſhip'd none *but one God*, and yet was for their worſhipping *Jeſus Chriſt* with other inferior worſhip, why might not the other Fathers do the ſame? 'Tis plain they mean, that none but God was worſhip'd with *divine* worſhip, nor any but his Son with an inferior religious worſhip, which yet in a ſenſe was one and the ſame worſhip; of which preſently.

Thus we ſee the firſt Chriſtians could vindicate the worſhip of Jeſus Chriſt as *Mediator*, without ceaſing to condemn the *demon-worſhip* of the *Pagans*, on this very ground, that Jeſus was *authoriz'd* by the ſupreme God to have this honour, which thoſe were not; and this agrees exactly with the *Unitarian* principles.

But then, ſays Mr. B. why does the Apoſtle charge the *Pagans* with this, *That they worſhip'd the creature beſides* (more than) *the Creator*, and with *ſerving them who by nature were not Gods*, ſince the Chriſtians did the like in the worſhip of Jeſus Chriſt, if he was not by *nature* the ſupreme God? I *answer* in general, 'tis probable the Apoſtle ſpeaks there of their ſerving the creatures as *Gods*, when they were *not Gods*, with *ſupreme* worſhip; for they ſerved them *beyond the Creator*, ſays the text, (which the Chriſtians did not do) and this the Apoſtle cenſures abſolutely: for whether they had a warrant to worſhip any inferior *Lords* or not, it was nothing to the buſineſs here, ſince that could be no ground for worſhipping any creature as the *true God*. No, nothing but a truly *divine Nature* could be a

ground for such divine worship ; and therefore the Apostle grounded the charge on a right bottom, in blaming them for *serving creatures as Gods, that by nature were not Gods*, and so no objects of such high honour ; which did not depend on a command of God, but on the nature of the object, the like to which Christians did not in their subordinate worship of Jesus Christ, nor do the *Unitarians*.

P. 138.

But let me consider those two texts more particularly ; to begin with *Rom. 1. 25. They worship'd and serv'd the creature more than the Creator*. What says this against them who worship none but the Creator with supreme worship ? Not that under the notion of creatures they could designedly respect them above God, (as Mr. B. seems to think we mean, when he accuses it as *nonsense*) but in their blind mistake, they fix'd their devotions on what truly were but creatures, and pass'd by the Creator ; as they who believ'd one God, but worship'd the sun, or fire, &c. for him, did really serve the creature, and pass by the Creator : or tho they own'd one God, yet they might do more service to the creature, to their images and dæmons, than to the Supreme. It is possible a Papist may worship the Virgin *Mary* more than God, and yet hold her to be but a creature ; and the sensual sinner may serve the *world* or his *belly* more than the Creator, tho he knows the other are but creatures. So that here is no such *nonsense* in supposing men to serve the creature beyond God.

Mr. B. is so sensible, that this text will do him no service against the *Unitarians* as our Bibles have it, that he is forc'd to give it a corrupt, or, at best, an ambiguous *turn* : He had rather have it thus, *They served the creature besides the Creator*. But I dare appeal to any *Trinitarian* critic, if the word *παρά* set thus between two nouns, does not

not in the New Testament note comparison, and be not render'd *above*, or *beyond*; as in this very Epistle, *Ch. 14. 5. One esteems one day above another. Heb. 1. 9. Above thy fellows.* And tho sometimes it may be render'd *præter*, or beside, yet that may be, as *Beza* and *Turretine* render it here, *præterito Creatore, passing beside*, or by, *the Creator*, i. e. they serv'd the creature, and not the Creator. But Mr. B. would have the word *besides* to signify a conjunction, as if it were thus, *besides the Creator* they also serv'd the creature; which is not the fair sense of the original, nor so natural and genuine a version, as that which we have, *viz. more than the Creator*; which is not the *Unitarians* case, who worship none beyond God, nay worship none besides God with ultimate or supreme respect.

The other text is *Gal. 4. 8.* where *St. Paul*, describing their former Gentile state, says, *When ye knew not God, ye did service to them, that by nature are not Gods.* Whence Mr. B. would infer, that to worship what has not the *infinite nature* of the supreme God, is idolatry like to that of the *Heathens*, and the formal reason of their sin. And this he thinks the *Unitarians* do in worshipping *Jesus Christ*, while they deny him to be the infinite God by nature. To this I answer, 1. That the Apostle speaks plainly of their worshipping those false Gods in the place of the *supreme* God, and not in subordination to him; which no doubt was idolatry. And this appears by his opposition of *those Gods* to the one true God, implying that they worship'd *them in lieu of him, whom they now knew*, i. e. as supreme, and not in any subordination to him. For whatever thoughts Mr. B. may have of those *Pagans*, the Apostle plainly says they had no knowledge of the true and infinite God. *Ye knew not God;*
U 4 and

and therefore what they worship'd in chief, must needs be what by nature was not *this God*, but some part of the creation, whether a man, or the sun, &c. nor was their mighty *Jupiter* or *Jove* any more. And in all their inferior worship of *heroes* or *dæmons*, if they ultimately refer'd their worship to any superior God, yet it was not to the only true supreme Being; and consequently they must terminate all their worship in some creature, as has been said. But what is this to the *Unitarians*, who do not worship Jesus Christ with supreme and ultimate worship; and whose religious worship of him ultimately rests in the infinite God alone? The *Pagans* might say they terminated their worship in the one true God, and that they worship'd him in chief; but St. Paul says, *They knew him not*, and upon this condemns them. They cou'd not make out these pretensions, which Mr. B. and some of their apologists make for them, to excuse them from idolizing creatures or fictions, by their supreme worship. Nor do I doubt, but that what some accounted *inferior dæmons*, the vulgar ador'd as *supreme*.

2. Let it be how it will, 'tis nothing against the *Unitarians*, who hold Jesus Christ to be a subordinate Lord, or God, by *nature*. The ancient Fathers (says Dr. *Whitby* on *Eph.* 2. 3.) constantly interpret *ὁ Θεός* by *truly* or really: Now we say, that Jesus Christ is truly such a God as we hold him to be, and as our worship implies. *He is truly partaker of a divine nature*, not only in moral graces, but in glorious dominion and authority, with suitable strength and wisdom. Those *Dæmons* were no Gods at all, as Mr. Baxter rightly says; they could not make out their *nature* or real qualifications, which we can in Jesus Christ. The Apostle might not mean, *they were not infinite Gods by nature*, but not

not truly any sort of Gods. Either way it touches not the *Unitarians* at all.

Yet I doubt not but the words may very justly and naturally be read something otherwise:

Ἐδουλεύσατε τοῖς μὴ φύσει ἔσι θεοῖς; *Ye were in bondage to Gods, that in nature had no being, or by nature were not.* Mere chimæra's, and artificial fictions; the *vanities* of the Heathen, and indeed but *nullities*: for so were many of their pretended Deities. They never existed in nature, much less had they ever the power or office pretended to; so that as *Gods* or *Lords* they had *no being*. And this is just parallel to what the same Apostle says, that *an idol is nothing*. 1 Cor. 8.4. There are no such things in nature, as the Heathen *Gods many and Lords many*. There may be *images* and *demons*, but no Gods, nor Lords: But we Christians have one real supreme God, viz. the *Father*; and one real subordinate Lord, viz. *Jesus Christ*. There is such a Lord in nature, and he has the real nature and abilities of such an anointed God, as well as the character and commission; and so he cannot be ranked among the *Pagan* idols who *were not*, or were nothing, sometimes as to their being, but always as to their power and dignity.

I am not sensible of any thing like *violence* done to the text by this *sense* and reading; but rather that it seems most natural and easy to the words, and most suitable to the context. For the Apostle is setting forth the noble liberty of these *Galatians* by the Gospel, in comparison of their former servile state. They were as *servants*, but now as *sons* at age, v. 7. But what were they slaves to? why, says he in this verse, *When ye knew not God, ye were in slavery to such Gods, as in nature were nothing*. For what we render, *Ye did service*, signifies *ye were slaves*,
or

or in bondage, as appears thro' the whole context; so the word is render'd, *ver. 3, 9, 25*. Nothing could more emphatically describe their base degeneracy, while *Pagans*, than this, that they were under a superstitious slavish subjection to what had no being; and were terrified with *fictions*, and did homage to a *nullity*. Therefore nothing seems more for the Apostle's purpose, than this fair sense of the words, which are not against the *Unitarians*, who know Jesus Christ to be such a real God, or *Lord* by nature, as those of the *Pagans* were not. Their superior Gods were not such, nor their subordinate Gods such in nature and reality, as they accounted them to be; but our supreme God the Father is such, and our subordinate Lord Jesus his Son is really and in nature such; as we pretend them to be, and as answers to their characters. So that we can boast their Gods are not like ours, nor their Lords like ours.

Nor does the Apostle reproach them with idolatry in doing this, but with the base and ignoble degeneracy of their condition; so that it appears not that he speaks so much of worship, as of the slavery and subjection they were under to these *fictions*. But will Mr. B. say that we owe no subjection to the man Jesus Christ, whose nature is not divine? Sure since the *human* nature is invested with dominion, as Mr. B. owns, and acts its part of *royal authority*, as he speaks, *p. 89*. it claims subjection answerable to that share of dominion it is invested with. And if there be any service due to the *man* Christ, then the text does not condemn all service to what is not by *nature* the infinite God; since the human nature, tho' united, is not a divine nature: and yet sure some service is due to the exalted *manhood*, which

is made a Lord and a *Prince* over men and Angels by God's reward (but the divine nature must be so without it) and has therefore a far greater title to the character of subordinate God than those Angels, and which *Pagan* idols had not.

Now it is easy to apply much of what has been said about the *Pagans*, to them of the *Roman* church, whose practices seem to have too near an affinity with the others. If the *Papists* worship any creature with *divine* ultimate worship, as they seem to do the *cross* and the *host*; if they worship *images*, or erect unwarranted symbols of the divine *presence* and grace; or if the common people esteem these as God, or give to them as high worship as to *him*; or *lastly*, if they set up other *Mediators* in the place of Jesus Christ, to invade his office (which things they are charged with) then are they still as much *idolaters* as ever; tho the *Unitarians* are clear of it, in their worship of the Lord Jesus Christ, as a subordinate Lord and *Mediator*, with subordinate worship.

Mr. B. says, they assign the *like* grounds of the religious worship of the *Saints*. But what then? Can they make them good? The *Pagans* might assign the same grounds for divine worship of the *sun*, or some other creature (which they took to be the supreme God) as Mr. B. does for worshipping the true God; but they did not assign them truly, and so they were idolaters still. This is our case, compar'd with the *Papists*. Does Mr. B. think they can give as good proofs of God's investing the *Saints* or *Angels* with universal power in heaven and earth, or of their commission to be our *Mediators* and our judges, as the *Unitarians* bring for the Lord Jesus's

Jesus's claim to all this? If not, it was unrighteously said of him, *that they assign the like grounds of their religious worship of Saints and Angels; That their cause is the same, and that they may defend it on the same principles.* Should I judge justly, if I said a Pagan (that should mistake the Devil or other creature for God) assigned the like grounds of his divine worship with Christians, and *that his cause was the same, and he might as well defend it?* God forbid I should so reproach my Maker, or slander his servants! Sure 'tis enough, that the one are mistaken in their object, and the other are right; and so the grounds they go upon are very different, the one being truth, and the other a false pretence: *for we think there is some little difference to be made between what is commanded and what is forbidden,* says Dr. Stillingfleet in his *Idolat. of the Church of Rome*, p. 97.

But, says Mr. B. we are not inquiring, whether the *Popish invocation of Saints, &c. be commanded or uncommanded, but whether in itself it be injurious to God.* But by his leave this ought to be the inquiry; since herein the injury will lie, if it be an invasion on God's honour and authority to set up unqualified unallowed mediators in his heavenly court. And I dare say, that if he will approve of all that religious worship of *Angels, Saints, and Demons*, which does not attribute to them any infinite divine perfections in its very nature, then he may be a much greater friend to the *Popish* and Pagan worship, than Mr. E. appears to be.

Thus we see, that the *Unitarians* practice and principles plainly destroy the *creature-worship*, which was practised among the Pagans; while they so carefully reserve intire to God all divine worship, and all subordinate religious worship

to that *one* Mediator the Lord Jesus, whom the great God has raised to this honour, and this itself ultimately *to the glory of the Father.* Phil. 2. 10, 11.
Amen.

CHAPTER III.

- I. *The judgment and practice of the primitive Fathers as to the point of worship.*
- II. *The conclusion, blaming the rashness of some Trinitarian writers, and shewing the Unitarian principles of worship to be the more safe.*

THE sum of what is argued on this head SECT. I. from the *Fathers*, is, That they profess to worship *one God, and him only*; and yet they worship *Jesus Christ*: Ergo, they held *Jesus Christ* to be essentially the supreme God. But when all is consider'd, I believe this conclusion will not follow from the *premises*, as they are found in the *Fathers*: For,

1. 'Tis most certain they profess to worship *God and his Son*: Here then is something besides *God alone* that is worshiped. This is frequent in *Origen*, *Justin Martyr*, &c. And that they meant *another Being* by the *Son*, will appear from what shall be presently observ'd.

2. Their current and most usual form was to worship the *Father by his Son, or in his name*. So *Clemens Romanus* ends his epistle. Thus *Justin Martyr* says, that at the communion the minister, or *president*, pronounces praises *to the Father of all, in the name of the Son, and by the Holy Spirit*. By which 'tis plain, that the *Father* and the *Son* were worshiped with a very different respect; which not only must follow from the unequal

P. 386.

unequal esteem they had for them, but is most expressly own'd by *Origen*, the most learned of them all, and who had best studied the deep points of our religion: who in answer to *Celsus* (who charged the Christians with worshiping others beside God, in their worship of Jesus Christ) gives an account how far they worship'd him, and how the Father: *Offerentes Deo universorum Domino preces per suum unigenitum; cui prius eas adhibemus; rogantes, ut ipse dignetur tanquam pontifex, preces nostras offerre Deo optimo maximo: i. e. We offer up our prayers to God, the Lord over all things, by his only Son; to whom we first bring them, praying, that he as our High-Priest would vouchsafe to present our prayers to God most high.* This, he says, was the *quantum possumus*, the utmost worship they could give. Now is this to worship him as supreme God, viz. to pray to him to officiate for us with God as *intercessor*? Again, speaking of praying to God by him, he adds, *We will pray to the Word, provided we may distinguish between doing it in a strict or a proper sense, and in an abusive one.* So that he will not allow prayer to him properly taken, only in a sort, as thro him it is put up to God. Is this possible for one to say, who worship'd him as supreme God? No, they held the Father and Son for two objects, and distinguished the worship into two sorts, as you see here.

P. 233.

3. The account which they give of their worshiping the Father and Son as one, and in some sort with one worship, is not such as speaks them to be one in the same numerical essence, or one and the same infinite spirit or substance; 'tis most evident that they could not mean such a worship, as implies this, with any consistency with their expressions elsewhere. *Lactantius* expressly says, That God the Father, before he set about the

L. 4. c. 6.

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the creation, *sanctum & incorruptibilem genuit Spiritum, quem filium nuncuparet*: He begat a Spirit whom he called his Son, which title he did not give to any other of the spirits whom he afterwards created. So then when he had begotten a spirit, there must be two spirits. And even when Origen is treating about their unity, and labouring to make them one object of worship, in answer to Celsus, who said they were two, he sticks not to say, *We religiously worship the Father of truth, and the Son who is the truth; duos quidem substantia (* Hypostasi) unum vero* ^{Which} *concordia, &c. Two indeed in substance, but one* ^{in that} *by agreement, and concord.* So then here are two ^{time signi-} *substances worship'd: tho at another time per-* ^{fy'd Sub-} *haps they may be called one in regard to their* ^{stance, at} *mutual concord and unity of will, as Christians* ^{its true} *are one.* ^{sense. Socr.} ^{Schol. 1.3.}

c. 7.

But how is it then that they could pretend to worship none but God, when they worship'd both the Father and the Son? As far as I can see, it was grounded upon a near union of the *objects*, which they still maintain'd, and the unity of the external *acts* of worship.

1. They reckon'd that still the Father and Son might be deemed as *one object* in a political sense, tho *two Spirits*, one subordinate to the other: Because their dominion (which is the ground of worship) was politically but *one*, as that of a king and his son, or his viceroy, or ambassador; the homage also done them was in a sense but one. Thus Origen, when treating upon this very ^{P. 386.} matter, says, *Celsus would never think we worship another besides God, if he understood those words, The Father and I are one.* But what unity does Origen interpret it of? Why, says he, that none may be startled at this, *let him mind that text, And the multitude of them that believ'd,* ^{were}

were of *one heart, and one soul*; and this may help him to understand the other, The Father and I are one. And then adds, That tho they are *two in substance*, yet they are *one in consent or will*.

L. 4. c. 29. And *Lactantius* more fully opens the matter by this near resemblance, *viz. of one who has an only beloved Son, who is in his Father's house, and in his power*: Tho, says he, he grants him the name and power of Lord and Master, yet *civili jure* it is called *one house, and one Lord*. So the Father and the Son being unanimous in the world, it is *one God*, because one is as two, and two as one; the Son always obeying the Father's will, as he adds. And again, he that acknowledges the Son, L. 4. c. 25. says he, *worships the Father together with the Son, because the Son is the ambassador of the most high Father*. Here is a political unity between them, that occasions the calling it *one worship* of one God. I deny not but they held also a natural conjunction between the two, so near that they were not separated asunder, nor held as divers divided beings, but yet without one thought of an *equality* (which serves my purpose) whenever they were compared together.

2. This might be further grounded upon the unity of the *act of worship*, which at once respects *both* these objects. As the *respect* done to an ambassador is at the same time a respect to his *prince*; and yet both are not equally honour'd, tho it be in the same act; so when a Son is honour'd merely for his relation to his Father, both are honour'd together, tho not *equally*. Thus 'tis the same prayer, that we present to the Father, which we offer to Christ, that it may be presented by him; as the same *sacrifice* was presented to the High Priest, which was by him to God: we always join the *Father* and the *Mediator* in the same devotion, but the same *physical* act may be *morally* two. And this is just accordin

to the abovesaid account of true Christian worship from Origen, who truly says, that a Christian does *ἀμεσῶς*, undividedly and inseparably worship the God of Gods, thro Jesus Christ. If I pray to the Father, it implies that it is thro the Mediator; if to Jesus Christ, 'tis that he may present it to God, where all worship terminates. This seems to be their most natural meaning, when they say, they only worship one God, tho they worship him thro his Son Jesus Christ; which is also a sort of worship of the Son. If it be not so, I doubt they will not be very consistent with themselves. However, I fetch not the grounds of my faith from any, but the truly primitive Fathers, I mean the Apostles; who I think appear on my side, without the obscurity that is in the others, who soon began to be corrupted, as was foretold.

But what Mr. B. says, *That those of the third* P. 114. *age insist on the universal practice of giving divine worship to Jesus Christ, as one great argument to prove that the Deity of Christ was the belief of the two foregoing, is a mere boast and flourish, of which he gives no proof. I desire him to shew who of that age ever prov'd that Jesus Christ had been held to be the supreme God (which is the question) by the two first ages, from the practice of divine worship. No, they neither so believ'd, nor so practis'd, that appears: and the Trinitarians themselves cannot but own that the Arians offer'd to appeal to the preceding ages and Fathers, for a testimony to their opinion; and that it was declin'd, as, besides others, Bishop Taylor confesses. It might be found that they call him* Liberty of Prophecy, P. 73. 8vo. *God indeed, and that he was worship'd as Mediator; but never, as I find, that he was God equal to the Father, nor worship'd with equal or supreme worship. 'Tis plain that Deus super quem non est alius, a God that has none above him, was*
 VOL. I. X their

Paraphr. on
John 7:17.

their character of the *Father*, in distinction from the Son, of whom they denied it, as Dr. *Whitby* has fully shewn. And if a God that has another above him, can be equal to a God that has none above him; or if *two*, who are unequal in excellency, can be both alike *infinite*, that is, can have both of them all the same excellencies in perfection: I think there is an end of all rational discourse on the point, when writings and words must not be taken with simplicity, in their obvious meaning, but be made to signify quite contrary to the common sense of mankind, merely to serve an *hypothesis* at a pinch.

Let me only by the way take notice of one passage more from Mr. B. p. 157. where he pretends, that the *Unitarians* lay as great a stumbling block in the way of the Mahometans, by giving religious worship to one who is God by office, as the *Trinitarians* do by their doctrine of the incarnation; and that the Mahometans worship not Mahomet himself. To which I must reply, that 'tis not merely the incarnation of a God in general, that is pretended to be such a stumbling block, but that one who is God should be incarnate, and yet two other persons be God too, who are not so. This is a terrible scandal to the *Jews* and *Mahometans*. Tho to the ordinary *Pagans* this may be pleasing enough, as agreeing with *polytheism*: but as to the *Mahometans*, I may safely say, the giving *divine* worship to Jesus Christ as a supreme God, is a fatal stumbling block which they are not able to get over. Whereas the worship of him with inferior worship, as a great Prophet and Lord, would be none, if other difficulties were remov'd. For Mr. B. is much mistaken in saying they worship not Mahomet; for in reading the *Turkish* history I find the contrary, and meet with three sorts of worship paid by them

them to that *false Prophet*. First, They swear by him. Secondly, They bow their bodies in adoration at the mention of his name, as they do at *God's*, but only they bow not their heads so low. And Thirdly, They pray to him. And therefore Mr. B. goes on a false ground. *All* See Pitts's *Account of Mahometans, p. 41.*
praise to God, and to Mahomet our master, is their worship.

And now having finished my argument, upon SECT. II. the review I have said what I really believe is the truth of the gospel, and to the true honour of my *blest Saviour*. If any think otherwise, I can however profess from my very heart, that I have not done it from any inclination to lessen the honour of the *Lord of Glory*. I thank God I am much rather disposed to congratulate than to envy his highest Glory, were it ever so great, if real and just; but I dare not *accept his person, nor talk wickedly, even for God*. I am jealous for the peerless Majesty of the Lord of Hosts, the God of all Gods.

After all, tho' I am not conscious of any wrong interpretation of the sacred Scripture, yet I dare *Monf.* not speak in the ranting style of a late furious *L'Abbadie* writer, who on supposition that Jesus Christ be *of Christ's Divinity.* not the supreme God, of the same essence with *V. 3. p. 3.* the Father, sticks not to represent *Mahomet* as the honestest person of the two, since Jesus Christ has expressed himself in such an ensnaring dangerous manner to insinuate the contrary into mens minds. I say, I dare not so boldly and scornfully accuse my Saviour, as to say on the contrary, That if he be the same God, and the self-same Being with the Father, (which I am still satisfy'd the Scripture never says) he then betrays men into infidelity, into blasphemy, and atheism; and that Christianity is but *a farce, a trick, &c.*

p. 313.
315.

(which is that Author's style) because he has said so much that looks the contrary way, as if he would deceive men. No, I doubt not but what he has done in this matter, is wisely done: tho' he may have left many things difficult and dubious, 'tis not for one side to say, *he means thus, or he is a deceiver*; and the other, that *he means the contrary, or he is so*. What scorn must be done to the *Holy Jesus* before infidels, when all sides shall take this liberty? Sure that gentleman never considers, that the *Unitarians* think he has spoken as much to countenance their sentiments, as he can imagine he has said in the Gospel to uphold his: and that at this rate the *Papists* may say, he is a deceiver like *Mahomet*, if the *host* be not his proper true *body*, since he said it; and the *Anthropomorphites*, that God is a liar if he have not proper bodily parts, which he so oft professes. Thus it may go round to *Remonstrants*, and *Contra-Remonstrants*, *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*; and where shall it stop? Thus by the majority of Christians themselves, their common Lord shall be cast for an impostor, and the *Jews* justified in crucifying him. What then must *Jews* and *Mahometans* think of Christ and his religion, when Christians give him so little credit, that they profess to renounce him, if their particular sense of some sayings be not what he intended? I am griev'd that so many *Trinitarians* should discover so little reverence for the holy *Jesus*, and breathe forth so much rashness and rage, malignity and uncharitableness; and while they plead for *his Deity*, seem to put off their own *humanity*, save that they manage all with the *wrath of man*, which will never work the *righteousness of God*. I pray God quench this intemperate zeal, which comes not from above; for that is *gentle and peaceable*. Whilst I heartily pray,

Dr. Calamy's Serm.
on the Trinity, p. 130,
360.

pray, that what I have written may never prosper nor prevail, unless it be the cause of God and Truth, which I have pleaded: *Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and my right hand (that writes this) forget her cunning,* if I prefer not the truth and honour of God and his Christ, before any by-interest or reputation in this world. I sometimes desire to believe higher things of the Son of God: but when I look into the Scriptures, I cannot find encouragement to regard him higher than as my Mediator with the most High, whose *ability to save to the utmost* is laid mainly and wholly on this, *because he ever* Heb. 7.26. *lives to make intercession for us,* with God. But sure none will say, that the *supreme* God is mighty to save, because he can intercede with another for help and salvation.

To conclude, I will only add, that supposing the matter of dispute were equally evident on both sides, (which I don't think, nor do my adversaries) yet I judge there is much more safety in this point of the worship of Jesus Christ on my side, than on the other. For supposing (as Mr. B. and the modal *Trinitarians* say) that Jesus Christ were the very same Being with the *Father*; yet in worshiping one God the *Father*, we give worship to the divine Being: and he who worships one infinite God, surely worships all that is adorable with divine worship. I desire to know what I leave out *unworship'd*, when I worship God the Father of all, and of Jesus Christ. If they tell me I pay no honour to the three *modes* or *personalities*, which they suppose to be in God; I must ask them, if there be any divine adorable perfections in the other *two modes* or *personalities*, which are not in the Father? If not, then I leave nothing unworship'd that is to be worship'd in God, more than they. If there be, then the

God and Father of Jesus Christ has not all perfections in him, nor is the object of all divine adoration, but here is some divine worship which he cannot challenge ; which I think is a very reproachful affront to him, to whom not only some, but *all honour and glory, all blessing and praise is due.*

Nay, supposing there were such *personal modes*, yet since they are not the grounds of worship, (for we don't worship the *Father* for having a *Son*, nor the *Son* for having the *Holy Spirit*) but God is only worship'd for his essential perfections and dominion, for his infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, &c. which are suppos'd common to all the *three* ; it follows there can be no such fault in worshipping *God* without regard to these distinct modes, which are not properly adorable, only the essence under them. I adore not the *paternity*, or *filiation*, or *procession* ; but I adore infinite power and goodness, &c. in worshipping God, even the *Father*.

But now on the other hand, supposing Jesus Christ to be another *Being*, next, but inferior to the *Father* ; the *Trinitarians*, who worship no other *Being*, but what is the *Father's*, or the supreme *Being*, must needs be found to give no worship at all to Jesus Christ, according to Mr. B. Tho they hold to the *two* names of God and his *Son*, yet they leave out the last in reality, and cast off one object of worship ; for they worship not the *Son*, while they honour the *Father's* *Being* only. The *Unitarians* leave not out *their* Christ, who is suppos'd to be in the supreme *Being* ; but the *Trinitarians* leave out *ours*, and disown him, not the name, but the being or thing ; unless they worship the human nature or creature. At most it can but be pretended against me, that I give too much to Jesus Christ,
according

according to my notion of him (which yet I judge I have vindicated) whereas if they err, they not only give him too little, but no worship at all; crying in effect, that the *Lamb* (or sacrific'd man Jesus Christ) is *not worthy to receive honour and worship*. Tho 'tis plain in *Rev. 5* 13. that he is worship'd as distinct from God in his dignity; not as *sitting on the throne*, which is God's peculiar royalty, but as *standing* before the midst of it among the Angels or Saints, *ver. 6.* and so is honour'd subordinately to the great enthroned God.

So that 'tis a value for the honour of Jesus Christ, against those who degrade him as unworthy, that makes me plead his cause against the *modal Trinitarians*; who, amidst the abundance of magnificent flourishes, and pompous strains about his glory, do really represent him as *too mean* for our subordinate worship and homage; denying him that derived glory, which the Father in reward of his obedience has bestowed upon him: and so deprive him of his great glory. Nor does it make any amends to him, to hear them talk of his *divine worship*, while under the name of *Christ*, or God's anointed, they mean God himself; and so give that worship not to *Christ* himself, but to *another*, viz. to the *Father*, whose Being is not the *Son's*, but his own.

With this kind of *inferior* worship our Lord has been honour'd from the beginning; and tho there has been a great defection from this pure religion, yet as I believe the generality of honest plain Christians have intended no other worship of Jesus Christ, than as *Mediator*, (amidst all the unintelligible phrases of another import, that their teachers put into their mouths) so a considerable body of the christian Church has all

along so worship'd him; I mean all the numerous churches of the *Nestorians*, who have in this point preserved the truth from the times of *Arianism*: for says *Turretin*, *Nestoriani non adorabant Christum ut Deum, & a patribus idololatrie accusantur.* *The Nestorians adored not Christ as God, i. e. as supreme God, and are accused by the Fathers of idolatry.* Now the *Nestorians* are acknowledged to be a branch of the *Arians* or *Photinians*, or very near a-kin to them. See *Jurieu's Pastor. Let.* Vol. I. p. 157. *Sandii Nucl.* p. 118, 119. And these churches in the *East* are so numerous, that, if *Sandius* compute right, they are far more than the members of the church of *Rome*, and have all along continu'd for so many ages, that for ought I know the *Unitarians* may pretend in them to as good a succession and visibility, as any other churches, if that was needful, especially in this point of worship.

Thus I think I have taken in all that *Mr. B.* has offer'd on the head of *worship*; which I judg'd deserved a particular answer, both because he seems to be especially confident of the strength of his argument here, and also because, while other arguments contain only matter of speculation immediately, this does immediately concern our daily practice, in our addresses to heaven; in which a serious Christian will earnestly require satisfaction, and I think cannot have true peace, till he has used serious endeavours to know his duty: In which thou, O Father of lights, be merciful to us and guide us. *I am a stranger on this Earth: Hide not thy commandments from me.*

Laus Deo, & Christo Mediatori.



*An Answer to Dr. Waterland
on the head of worship paid
to JESUS CHRIST.*

SINCE Dr. *Waterland* has laid the main stress of his argument (both in proof of the *supreme Deity* of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his charge of *Idolatry* on his adversaries, as men not to be admitted to *Christian Communion*, nor intitled to *common civilities* *) on this principle, that *all* religious worship and the *outward acts* of it are appropriate to God almighty, and that any exterior act of religious worship done to any, even to the Lord *Jesus*, considered as a creature, is the great sin of *idolatry* †; and that the difference of *inward intention* is of no moment, if the *outward act* be the same ‡: and since moreover he grants, that *if all religious worship be not appropriated to God, the Arians are not justly chargeable with idolatry or polytheism for worshiping a creature; neither, says he, is our argument from worship alone sufficient to prove the Father and Son are one God* §. I say, since so much depends on this principle, which I am satisfied is a false one, I shall endeavour to prove, and I hope very fully, that *some exterior acts of worship, and that adoration*, (which, he

* Import. p. 108, 127.
defence, p. 384.

† Import. p. 45. || See Second
§ Pref. to Sermon. p. 40.

he says, stands for *exterior* acts, and not for *interior* in the intention of the mind *) and these not differing in any outward manifest circumstances from what are done in the worship of almighty God, are not *always* idolatrous, nor disallowed of God, when done to some others, tho subordinate to himself, nor absolutely forbidden by the command in *Mat. 4. 10. Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and him only shalt thou serve*; where it is observable it is not said *him only shalt thou worship*, but *him only shalt thou serve*: and if it had, yet according to the Doctor the word *only* is not absolutely exclusive of all others †. But of this I shall not take advantage, since I am persuaded it is an error in him, for it is always exclusive from the *same degree* at least.

I think I had so fully obviated all that the Doctor advances upon this point in my *Vindication of the worship of the Lord Jesus Christ* against Mr. *Boyse*, never yet replied to, that I might well expect no one, who had read it, would argue *professedly* on this subject without trying at least to remove, what I judge quite stops his way. But since the Doctor talks just as if nothing had been said to overturn his whole argument, I will again resume the subject, and add something more to show, that *all* acts of religious worship are not appropriated to God only, and consequently their being done to *Jesus Christ* does not, according to the Doctor's own admission, prove him to be the *one supreme God*, nor those who worship him as inferior to God to be *idolaters*.

S E C T. I.

MY first argument is from the common allow'd practice of *adoration* or *bowing the body* in an humble submissive posture to others as well as to God. This is the true and most proper sense

* Second def. p. 383.

† Serm. p. 127, 132.

sense of the Greek word *προσκύνησις*, the usual word for *worship* *, and this is the particular and only act of *worship* or homage, which our Saviour refused, or the Devil claim'd, as both Dr. *Stillingfleet* and Dr. *Waterland* acknowledge, and this was undoubtedly used as a solemn part of divine worship, as appears from many instances in Scripture, *Psalms* 95. 6. *O come let us worship and bow down and kneel before the Lord our maker.* 2 *Chron.* 29. 30. *Neb.* 8. 6. *They bowed their heads and worshiped.* Nay Dr. *Waterland* equals *bodily adoration* to *sacrifice* †, and Dr. *Stillingfleet*, to whom he refers us, seems to set it above *sacrifice* in the nature of the thing, for, says he ‡, *the lowly submission of our bodies seems more naturally to signify the behaviour of our minds, than any thing without us can do.* If then this solemn external act be *worship*, and yet is not appropriated to God, his whole argument is vain; and how can it be deem'd appropriated to God only, when we find it so often performed, and may be so unblameably to other inferior Beings, viz. to men and Angels, as is granted, and is shewn by Dr. *Stillingfleet* § from instances in Scripture of civil and moral worship. In the 1 *Chron.* 29. 30. we thus read, *And David said to all the congregation, Now bless ye the Lord your God: And all the congregation blessed the Lord God of their fathers, and bowed down their heads and worshiped the Lord and the King.* Here the visible act of bowing the head, and worshipping God and the King, was certainly the same outward act in kind, and for ought appears the same individual act; which according to Dr. *W.* was the whole of the worship, since with him the inward intention is of no moment in this case, and

* See *Suicer. Thesaur.* *προσκύνησις*. † *Defence*, p. 239.

‡ *Stilling.* *defence* p. 230. 8vo. edit.

§ *Ibid.* 231.

and *worship* stands for the *exterior act* only: With what sincerity then can it be said, that this act was appropriated to God only?

Well but tho the *act* be the same, yet the *signification* of the act is not the same, says Dr. *Stillingfleet*, and that by apparent *circumstances* the acts may be *differenced* from each other; what are *religious* bowings and what but *civil* respect, and what but *moral* reverence or *religious* respect. Very true, this is the very thing which his adversaries urge, *viz.* that the same act may signify *supremely* divine, or *inferior* worship. And Dr. *W.* tells us *, that the outward acts of worship, *so and so circumstantiated*, become religious and appropriated to God. If we ask *how and how circumstantiated* they become religious acts of worship, he refers to Dr. *Stillingfleet*, from whom he has taken most of what he says upon the subject; to him then let us go to learn what are those *circumstances*, which make these acts become religious and appropriate to God, by a *visible* difference from the same acts done to holy *Prophets* or *Angels*, &c.

These discriminating circumstances, he says, are the *times and places set apart for the service of the great God*; and again, *We call that religious adoration, which is performed with all the circumstances of religious worship, as to time, place, and occasion, and such like* †; a very confused account, it is *idem per idem*. The question is, what makes, or is *religious worship*? he answers, it is that, which hath *all the circumstances of worship*, i. e. it is what it is, it is that, which is religious worship; but still the question returns, what is religious worship in your meaning? If bowing humbly with a religious mind, and from a religious principle be religious worship, then it may be such,

* Import. p. 43.

† Stil. def. p. 209, 232.

such, when done to a ruler and prophet, &c. No, this is not allow'd to be the religious worship they mean, for this they admit may be performed to others besides God. What then do they mean? Truly, if I can understand Dr. Stillingfleet's or Dr. Waterland's sense, they mean by *religious, supreme divine worship only*, or at least *such worship only*, as is performed in the *place* and at the *very times* of God's public worship. So then not the *acts* of adoration are appropriated to God, but only the *circumstances* of them, as and when done in *that time* and *place*; and so all bowing to the *altar*, and to one another in the church at the time of divine service will be *idolatrous*: for says Dr. W. *The inward intention is of no moment in the case, if the outward acts are the same, since their meaning and signification is fix'd and determined by God himself* *. But if this were so, it would be nothing to the point.

For it must be observed, that even these discriminating circumstances, which are alledged to make a *plain distinction* between *religious* and *other* bowing or bodily adoration, relate only to *public* worship to make an outward *visible difference* †; for in *private* and family worship, when not in the temple, at a stated time set apart for the service of God, this circumstantial difference is wanting, because it is not performed with all the *circumstances* of religious worship, as to *time* and *place*; and yet I hope this may be accounted *religious* worship. And here it seems the same acts of adoration may safely be used in common to God and others; nay, by this rule there can be no idolatry out of a temple or church.

But that which most effectually manifests the utter insignificance and inconsistency of this account

* Second defence, p. 384. First defence, p. 239. † Second Def. p. 382.

account of religious worship is, that it no way reaches to that worship, which the Devil claim'd, and our Lord refused, and argued against, *Mat. 4. 9, 10,* (which is the principal hinge on which this controversy turns) which outward worship by *falling down*, says *Dr. Waterland*, was refused by Christ on this sole reason, *because it was religious worship appropriated to God* †; yet how could this be such worship? Was it *so and so circumstantiated*, as *Dr. Waterland* speaks? Had it indeed *all the circumstances* of religious worship in time and place set apart for God's service? What, when they were on a very high mountain in the wilderness? Is the Doctor certain, it was on the *sabbath day*, or did the Devil require him to go down, and enter into the temple, and there fall down before him? Not one of all those circumstances, which make the *external act* of adoration to be *religious*, is found here; therefore our Lord did not refuse it on that account, as *religious* worship: the Devil did not stand upon circumstances, but simply and plainly said *fall down*; and if our Lord had but bowed to him, as a clergyman to his bishop or to the communion table, I see not but it had answer'd what the Devil required.

I know *Dr. Stillingfleet* places among the circumstances the *occasion* of worship, but who knows what he means by *that*, or by his *such-like*? He attempts to explain it thus; *If the occasion was such, as required no respect of any other kind* †: but what if there was *no occasion* for any kind of respect? and what occasion was there for religious respect to the Devil? Indeed the occasion and demand seem rather to be of a sort of *civil* adoration, as the Devil pretended to be the great disposer of kingdoms, and of worldly preferments,

‡ Defence, 230, 231, 242.

† Stil. def. p. 232.

ferments, for having shewed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, *All these things*, says he, *will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me*. But what pretence had the Devil to *religious* worship? He did not pretend to be the most *High God*, or any *holy servant* of God, or any *sub-like* thing. If therefore this worship was refused and forbidden, because appropriated to God only, I don't see but *all sorts* of worship and bowing down must be so, not only *religious*, but *civil* also, which would prove more than was intended. If the text forbid the worship of any other but God, or the bowing to them, then it is general, and in the letter reaches to *all alike*; for the Scripture has no such distinction as a *religious* and a *civil* bowing down; it never says (to use Dr. Waterland's words) one syllable about *religious* and *civil* worship, any more than it does about *absolute* and *relative*, *supreme* and *inferior*; it does not say worship God, and whom God shall appoint to be your rulers, nor worship God with *religious* worship, as if *any other kind* of worship was permitted to be paid to creatures, kings or prophets, but simply, plainly and briefly, *worship God*; not worship God with *religious*, and *men* or *angels* with *civil* worship, or *moral* worship; I find none of these fine-spun notions in Scripture†. If he can find any foundation for this in the Scriptures, or in the nature and reason of things, it is very well; and so can others do the like for *mediatorial*, *inferior* and *subordinate* worship of our Lord *Jesus Christ*; of whose being, power and glory, the Father is the *first* cause and the *last* end.

From the nature of the thing itself, he says, he would not argue the point, but is content to suppose

† Waterl. defence, p. 232. 236.

pose his adversaries notion of subordinate *inferior* adoration may be *rational* on that single foot[†]; so that he must make out his distinction from *Scripture*: but where has he done so? If he pleads that *adoration*, or bowing down humbly to *superiors*, angels or men, is justified by the constant and approved practice of good men in the history of the Old Testament, and therefore could not be forbidden absolutely; so say his adversaries, and from thence it will follow, that *all worship inferior and subordinate* to God's is not within the prohibition. But then, says Dr. *Stillingfleet*, that adoration recorded in *Scripture*, as practised by good men, was not *religious*, but *civil worship*; at best it was but *religious respect*, and not *religious worship*. See Dr. *Stillingfleet's* Defence, p. 231. and yet it was *worship* too, see p. 193. Strange confusion! as if *adoration with religious respect* was not *religious adoration*. I find then the *Anians* may have leave safely to *worship* Christ as a creature, provided it be with *religious respect*, and not with *religious worship*; it seems the act of *adoration with religious respect* paid to Christ may be *very good*, but *religious adoration* is *idolatrous*. And thus we are left to find a difference where we can see none. The real truth of the case, as it appears to me, is that the two learned Doctors have labour'd under this insuperable difficulty, *viz.* to make out in all the *exterior* acts of adoration, used in common to God and some of his creatures, such an *outward difference* as always *visibly* distinguishes one from the other; so that it may be known by the *visible circumstances* of the act, *who* and *what* the object is of that adoration. This is assigned as the end and reason of God's appropriating all external

† Def. 233.

external acts of religious worship to himself alone†; now if in some allow'd instances no manifest *visible difference* appears, this end of worship is not answer'd, and consequently was not intended by God in *all* acts of adoration.

The dispute is not whether Almighty God ever *did*, or *can* appropriate *some* visible acts *so and so circumstanced* for tokens of worship peculiar to himself, as *sacrifices* of old seem to be; but whether he has so appropriated *all external acts* of religious worship, particularly *bodily adoration*: for if not *all acts*, then *some* may be performed in common without idolatry or fault, and yet the sense of the *superlative excellency* of the most High be declared by other ways of expressing it; and so the *Arians* may be quite clear of idolatry in giving *some acts* of religious adoration to Christ as a creature.

But here is the fallacy; they first endeavour to make *religious worship* to be nothing but what is by circumstances, as they think, plainly intended to be *divine* and *supreme*, and then for certain all *such* religious worship must be *divine* and *supreme*, i. e. all worship, which is *proper to God only*, must be *appropriated to God*. Wonderful! who denies it? But how come they to limit *all religious worship*, to what is *so and so circumstantiated*, when at the same time by a flat contradiction they tell us that is *religious worship*, which comes not within their own description of it, nor is *so circumstantiated*, as they say *all* religious worship is? Why do they tell us so oft it was *religious worship* that our Lord refused the Devil, and refused for that very reason, and so what the Angel rejected from St. *John*, and St. *Peter* from *Cornelius*, plainly declaring by those instances, that the bare *external act* of adoration is *religious*

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worship

† Second def. p. 383.

worship, altho without the *discriminating circumstances*, which they pretend to constitute *all* religious worship. In short, it seems by them the difference between *religious* and *other* worship is but *circumstantial*, not *material*, and yet where there is neither *material* nor *circumstantial* difference found, they will not allow them to be the *same* in kind, but sometimes they are acts of *religious*, and sometimes but *civil* worship, as their cause needs, and yet *the intention is of no moment in the case*.

Dr. *Waterland* tells us, that the outward acts of *civil homage* and *religious worship* are always distinguishable by the *circumstances*, and that to deny this is to *dispute against fact*; and says, *It is a case where no one has ever been mistaken* *. It is granted, that *sometimes* the grounds and motives of these acts may be distinguished, but very *often not*; and this is evident, in that there are so many instances of *bodily adoration* recorded in Scripture, which it is not to this day agreed whether it was *civil* or *religious*. What *visible* difference was there between the *Shunamite's* worship of the Prophet *Elisha* after he had miraculously restored her son to life? 2. *Kings*, 4. 37. *She fell at his feet and bowed herself (or worshiped) to the ground*, προσέκυρτο ἐπὶ τοῦ γένυ †, nay she seems to swear by him too, ver. 30. *As the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth*: I say, what *visible* difference was there between *her* worship and that of the *Syrophœnician* woman, who worshiped *Jesus Christ*, that he might heal her daughter? *Mark* 7. 25. *She fell at his feet and worshiped him*, *Mat.* 15. 25. And yet Dr. *Stillingfleet* argues from this *last* as *religious* divine adoration, signifying *Jesus* to be God ||. Why then must not

* Import. 43. † So the *Septuagint* renders it, and so Dr. *Stillingfleet* says it should be rendered. *Stil.* def. p. 874.
|| *Ibid.* sub fine.

the former be religious adoration of the Prophet? Time, place, and occasion no way distinguish them into such a distance. What circumstances distinguish Cornelius falling down to Peter, *Acts* 15. 25. (which we are frequently told * was religious worship, and therefore blamed) from that of the sons of the Prophets to *Elisha*? *2 Kings* 2. 15. And they came to meet him, and bowed themselves to the ground before him. Is the Doctor as certain, as he is confident, that no one has ever been mistaken here? Let me tell him, that his great patron in this cause Dr. *Stillingfleet* intimates the quite contrary, for speaking of *Abraham's* adoration or bowing to the angels, *Gen.* 18. he was puzzled what to call it; says he, *it was religious respect, if he knew them to be what they were, but if not, as is more probable, then it was only civil respect* †; (and yet by the way we are told ‡ one of those Angels was the supreme God, and was understood to be the person of Christ, so that if he knew him to be what he was, it must be *divine worship*.) So that he makes the difference to depend on *Abraham's* conceptions and intention, which, says Dr. *Waterland*, is of no moment in the case. I know he calls it religious respect, but then he grants it to be by an act of adoration; and if to adore with religious respect be not religious adoration, I am as much at a loss, as he was.

And now who disputes against fact, but he who says none was ever mistaken, where Dr. *Stillingfleet* himself was so dubious and perplexed? The outward act with all circumstances appeared to him so undeterminate, that it might equally serve for *this*, or for *that*, or for the other purpose; so that till he could understand what the object was, or what *Abraham's* thoughts and

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intentions

* Stil. Def. sub fine. † Ibid. 231. ‡ Waterland's Def. p. 28, 29.

intentions were, he could not tell what judgment to make of the *act* of adoration by the *outward circumstances*; so that according to this it is the *nature of the object* not the *act* specifies the worship; and by a strange confused inconsistency, whatever *Abraham's* apprehensions of these three Angels were, he might possibly give them *religious* and *divine* worship still, if the *outward act* was such, and it depended not at all on his *inward intentions*, as is urged against the *Arians* worship of Jesus Christ, who intend but an inferior *subordinate* worship.

However since Dr. *Stillingfleet* admits adoration or bowing with *religious respect* to Angels, sure he should much more allow it in the *Arians* worship of *Jesus Christ*, whom, tho inferior to the most high God, they magnify as one far above all Angels, principalities, and powers, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but in that which is to come, *Eph. 1. 21, 22.* which is given to him by the God of our Lord *Jesus*, the Father of glory, who hath given him a name above every name to this very end, that at the name of *Jesus* every knee should bow, *Phil. 2. 9, 10.*

If then Dr. *Waterland* pleases, he may call the *Arians* worship of *Jesus Christ*, only the giving him *acts of adoration with religious respect*: perhaps this will satisfy them, for it is but a dispute about the name, and then all will be well; then the Doctor will not charge them with *idolatry*, and it may prevent his trouble of casting them out of his church, or his perhaps greater trouble of seeing, that they are not so. I hope however he may grant them this, if not as a piece of *common civility*, yet as a point of *justice*, without wronging his conscience.

N. B. Dr. *Stillingfleet*, after his long confused discourse, does in effect yield up all at last, when pressed from *Joshua* 5. 14, 15. by saying, *there is a difference*, i. e. as to the matter of religious worship, *between what is commanded and what is forbidden**, so then it is enough if we be commanded to worship Christ. And Dr. *Waterland* †, is forced to own, that the worship ascends higher from the Son to the Father, i. e. to the Father directly, as being primarily and eminently God, and supreme in office, to the Son obliquely or interpretatively. Again, prayer, says he, properly or emphatically speaking is praying to the Father, to whom all prayer primarily belongs ‡, and secondarily to the Son ||.

S E C T. II.

MY second argument is from the religious worship given very oft to our Lord when on earth, and accepted by him from such as only considered him as a *sacred Prophet*, or great authorized person sent from God, without any thought of his being himself the most high God. The examples of worshipping him by falling down and kneeling at his feet are many through the whole history of the Gospel. These are not deemed to be religious worship by Protestant or Popish writers on the *Athanasian* side; Dr. *Stillingfleet* makes it a proof, that bodily adoration or bowing down is a proper act of divine worship, in that the *Syro-phœnician* woman fell down at *Jesus's* feet, and worshiped him, and no check given to her or any others; whereas St. *Peter* would not suffer it in any other, because it was *divine worship* |||. So that this is improved into an argument for Christ's Deity: No civil worship could be here, and yet there is not the least ground, that *that* woman

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woman.

* Stil. Def. 859. † Second Def. p. 401. ‡ Ibid. 400, || Ibid. p. 393. ||| Ibid. p. 875;

woman or the other persons, who are said to worship him, had any thought at that time of his being the most high God, when he was not so much as accounted to be the *Messias*, except among his own disciples, whom he charged to keep it secret, until his resurrection, *Matt. 16. 20.*

It is also very plain, that notwithstanding this, he accepted this religious worship, and without rebuke graciously granted their petitions; nay, when one of them came, and kneeling to him, said, *Good master, what shall I do, &c.* it is remarkable, that though he took notice of his giving him the title of *good*, and told him, *none was good but one, viz. God*, yet he never questioned him for his *worshiping* him, as if that were the same thing.

Now I infer hence, that *religiously to worship Christ* is not the *great sin of idolatry* in those, who do not believe him to be the supreme God, nor is it a solemn mockery of their Saviour, as Dr. *Waterland* calls it *. Either he was not God most high, and then by accepting it he shewed, that all religious worship is not forbidden to all but God; or if he was God most high, he shewed, that he was not provoked with sincere worship, tho given with too low conceptions of him, as indeed all are. Idolatry is in *excess* to a *wrong* object, not in *defect* of the mind towards a *right* object. So that those antients or moderns, who have condemned the *Arians*, as *idolatrours* in worshiping *Jesus Christ*, might as well reproach all those devout worshipers as idolaters, to whom, as the Gospel relates it, *Jesus Christ* without any check gave eminent tokens of his acceptance: so little to be regarded are all the reasonings of the Fathers on this head of *Arian* worship. If it be said, that so long as he was *really* God, it was not idolatry, this is the very case of the *Arians* and

* Import. p 40.

and Nestorians, for their worship does not really ungod him, but he is still the same in himself as he was before. Indeed it is scarce sense to call it idolatrous worship, (that is, worshipping too much) for being in reality too little.

S E C T. III.

Thirdly, I Argue against the Doctor's principle once more, from the religious worship due and generally allowed to the human nature of Jesus Christ. I have shewn in my answer to Mr. Boyse, that this was admitted even by the antient writers against the Arians, and also by modern Athanasians. Testimonies of this are brought by Forbesius*, who assents to it, saying, *Christ is to be worshiped without excluding the flesh from being the object or terminus of worship*†; also by Dr. Stillingfleet‡, who shews that (not in hasty expressions, but in a point of serious deliberation) they agreed in this, that the footstool to be worshiped, *Psal. 99. 5.* was the humanity of Christ. Let, says he, St. Austin, speak for the rest, and then he sets down *Psal. 99. 5.* his words thus; *The Scripture elsewhere calls the earth God's footstool, and doth he bid us worship the earth? This puts me in great perplexity, I dare not worship the earth, lest he damn me, who made the heaven and the earth; and I dare not but worship his footstool, because he bids me do it. In this doubt I turn myself to Christ, and from him find the resolution of it, for his flesh was earth.* And the Doctor himself assents to it, as the doctrine of the Christian Church, that the humanity of Christ is capable of worship, tho he says, it is only on account of its union with the divine nature ||. Nay, Athanasius himself is reckoned one of those, who interpreted the footstool to be worshiped of Christ's

Y 4

Christ's

* Instruat. Theol. Lib. 7. c. 3. §. 7.

† Ibid. §. 2.

‡ Stil. Def. p. 714. || Ibid. 844.

Christ's *humanity*. Indeed it would have been strange, if he, who had such respect for the relics and bones of *John the Baptist*, as to hide them in the wall of a church *for the profit of future generations* *, should not allow something more to the living body and soul of *Christ Jesus*; and would the Doctor excommunicate *Athanasius* and his followers?

Now I hope it will not be denied, that the human nature is a *creature*, and that to worship it would be *idolatry* according to the principle Dr. W. goes upon, who says, *All creatures whatsoever are effectually precluded from receiving any religious homage and adoration of any kind or degree* †, and that to worship *Christ* considered as a *creature* is *idolatry* ‡. Fain would they avoid this charge by pleading, that they worship the *human* nature only because it is united to the *divine*; but then they do worship the *human* nature, as the *Nestorians* and *Papists* do. We are asking after the *object* of their religious worship, and they tell us the *reason* of their worship. I ask *what*, and they tell me *why* they worship; what is this to the point? they would not worship the *humanity* if not united to the *divinity*, but do they worship it now it is so? If they can give a good reason for worshipping this new created being, then it is no idolatry, because there can be no good reason for committing idolatry; or if a just reason can take off the charge, then the *Arians* in their turn will give a good reason for their worship from his union and commission from God. Or will the Doctor declare, that the *man Christ Jesus* is unworthy of all *religious worship*? that the *Lamb slain* is not *worthy to receive honour, glory and blessing*, even the *Mediator, the man Christ Jesus*? What, *Acts 17. 31.* not he, *by whom God will judge the world*, emphatically

* Sir Isaac Newton on the Prophecies. p. 211.

† Def. p. 231. 252. ‡ Import. p. 44.

phatically styled *the man*? Not, when he comes in great majesty, and with his Father's and his own glory? Has the *man Christ Jesus no kingdom, no dominion* to be the foundation of suitable homage? Has he no *subjects*, who are bound to pay it? This is the proper nature of worship, *viz.* the respectful expression of our *subjection* to one, who is our *superior* in authority. Do we owe the manhood *no subjection*, although he died and rose again, *that he might be Lord, of the dead and of the living*? (Surely not that the divine nature might be Lord) or is he *our Lord* and shall we not worship him? Is he so highly exalted for his *Psalm 45.* sufferings, that *no knee should bow to him, or confess him to be Lord, who suffered*?

I know many have spoken contemptibly of the manhood of our blessed Lord in these points, as if scarce worthy of any respect for itself; I think it was rashly said by St. *Austin*, that the *humanity* of Christ considered as separate from the *divinity* is no more to be worshiped, *than the robe of a prince when it lies on the ground*, as if a senseless lifeless garment was as worthy of respect, as the glorious spirit and noble mind of the man *Christ Jesus*. But yet after all they own, that as it is united, they do worship the *humanity* with the *divine* nature, with one adoration, which must be *creature-worship* in conjunction with the *Creator*, that is for special reasons, which the *Arians* also say there ought to be, *viz.* *God's command*, and communication of power and authority; and then this will be subordinate and *inferior* religious worship compared with what is directed to the *original and supreme Being*.

S E C T. IV.

A Gain, I argue from the Doctor's interpreting the *imploring of grace and peace* to be a *religious invocation* of the person, of whom it is implored.

This

Of the Worship of JESUS CHRIST,

*This is implored of Christ, says he *, in twenty places of the New Testament. Now I think from hence it will follow, that either those seven Spirits invoked in one of those places, Rev. 1. 4. (and they are all in the same manner) were seven Spirits in the godhead, or else religious prayer is therein made to creatures, for they are expressly joined with God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, in the same form of prayer, if it be a prayer; if it be not a prayer, (as I really think it is not) then it is impertinently brought as a proof of religious invocation. 'Tis a silly pretence to say it means the one holy Spirit, the third person of the Trinity, but called seven Spirits, because of his manifold operations. Who ever called one man seven men for his divers operations, or would say seven Gods meaning many operations of God; no, it is the same God, one and the same Spirit, though diversity of operations, 1 Cor. 12. 6, and 11. But these are seven Spirits, as is oft repeated, and are said to be before the throne, Rev. 4. 5. and are said to be the seven eyes of the Lamb, sent forth into all the earth, Rev. 5. 6. And it is plain, that whereas worship is chiefly given to God who sits upon the throne of supreme majesty, very often by falling down to worship him only, and sometimes honour and praise is given to the Lamb also together with God, Rev. 5. 13. yet no notice is ever taken of any worship or praise offered to the seven Spirits, (or one Spirit) though said to be present at the same time.*

So that I judge it must be granted, (as it is by Mr. Mede †) that these *seven Spirits* were not God equal to him, who sits upon the throne, and then what can be said for the *religious invocation* of them?

* Defence p. 256. Sermon. 192. † Diatribæ p. 180.

them? Must we cry out with Dr. *Waterland* †, *Faulty St. Paul, faulty St. John, &c.* who thus *invoked* these *seven Spirits*: No, no, rather *faulty, very faulty the Doctor*, in making all *religious worship* of any under God to be *idolatry*, and then charging *them* with it to make good his assertions. I think it would be wiser to throw up that pretended proof of the worship of invocation, and say it was only a *pious wish* of favour and help from Christ, and the angelical Spirits ‡, or admit, that both may be prayed to for grace and peace, unless he have some better expedient to clear himself.

† Remarks on Dr. *Clarke's* Expofit. of the Church Catechism, p. 21.

‡ See *Mede's* Diatribæ, p. 181.

them? Must we say one with Dr. Waterland? Paul, James & Job, &c. who thus interpreted these Jews? No, no, rather say, say the Father, in making all religious worship of any under God to be idolatry, and then charging them with it to make good his assertions. I think it would be wiser to show up that pretended proof of the worship of invocation, and say it was only a witness of invocation and help from Christ, and the angelical spirits, or admit that both may be prayed to for grace and peace, which he have some better expedient to clear himself.

† Remains in Dr. Clarke's Remarks on the Church Catechism, p. 11.
‡ See Clarke's Discourse, p. 11.

THE
SUPREME DEITY
OF

God the FATHER

DEMONSTRATED.

In Answer to Dr. *Sherlock's* Arguments
for the supreme Divinity of *Jesus*
Christ, or whatever can be urged
against the Supremacy of the FIRST
Person of the HOLY TRINITY.

1707.

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The Supreme Deity of God the Father demonstrated, &c.

IF false accusations and uncharitable censures, if torturing some texts and trifling with others, and all this set off with a magisterial arrogance and tragical exclamations, overlooking the mysterious *nonsense* of his own opinions, such as a *deriv'd self-existent*, or a *begotten first cause*, &c. and misrepresenting those of his adversaries, that they may deserve such a charge; I say, if this be a wise or solid way of confuting the *Unitarians*, the Doctor has shown himself a brave champion against them, in his late book of *the Deity of Jesus Christ*, in which there is scarce any thing new, but what is either extravagant or trivial.

The *Unitarians* cannot but think it very hard to be so virulently insulted, by every *Tritheist*, who stands condemn'd not only of *Heresy* but *Paganism*. And with relation to the Doctor himself, it has been openly declar'd by divers dignitaries of the Church, that the opinion of a *Trinity of infinite minds* is much worse than *Socinianism*; nay, as much as *Paganism* is worse than *Judaism*, say some. Nor do I take up such an accusation against so great an *Elder* in the Church, without two witnesses; the one is Dr. South, in the

the preface to *Tritbeism charg'd upon Dr. Sherlock, &c.* who declares the abovesaid opinion to be *Paganism*. The other the Bishop of *Glocester*, in his late *Reflexions on Dr. Sherlock's examination, &c.* where he tells us, his *Examiner* lies under a greater scandal than that of a *Socinian*, even that of a *Tritheist*: Tho, to do the Doctor justice, he is even with the *Nominal* Trinitarians or *Modalists*, charging them to be worse than the *Socinians*, on the other hand; because tho he judges their *Heresy* to be the same, yet in the others 'tis join'd with *nonsense*, which is something worse than heresy alone. And so both sides declare the *Socinians* to be better than themselves in the account of each other.

Upon this occasion, one can hardly forbear inquiring how it comes to pass, that men of the *Tritheistic Notions* have been and are so warmly cherish'd both in the bosom of the *Church*, and also among the *Dissenters*; when at the same time there is so much fury and uncharitable severity in both parties, towards the more harmless *Unitarians*. It can be no great proof either of the *honesty* or *justice* of those Churches, who deal so partially, as to persecute the less erroneous, and to dignify them that are more grossly so. *Unitarians*, it seems, must not speak for themselves; while the others have leave to slander and insult them, as appears by the Doctor's book.

It is evident his expositions of the Scripture have been often baffled, which yet he repeats without taking notice of what has been offer'd to overthrow them. It were very easy to shew the vanity of his new interpretations, which it seems he could not advance without bespattering the learned commentators of his own side, (I mean not of the *Tritheist* side, but of the *Trinitarian*,

nitarian, if there be a difference) and therefore he lets fly at the generality of our celebrated Annotators. One while they are with him men of *levity* and *wantonness*, p. 24. another while they assert *downright heresy*, p. 167. and all because they can see nothing against the *Socinians*, in such Texts as he makes the great support of his arguments, without one good reason for it.

The fundamental Text he begins with, is *Rom. 1. 3, 4. Made of the seed of David, according to the flesh, and declar'd to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead.* This he calls an *express declaration of two distinct natures in the Son of God*: And so there is in every man, *flesh* and *spirit*; what then? But says he, *according to the flesh*, is, according to human nature, and consequently it implies he had another nature. Tho this be nothing to the *Arians*, yet 'tis not true. The phrase *κατὰ σάρκα* never signifies according to human nature: The Doctor knew it well enough, that in *Rom. 4. 1. c. 9. 3. 1 Cor. 10. 18.* where we read, *Abraham our father after the flesh; my kinsmen after the flesh; Israel after the flesh*; I say, in all these places it could not be so taken, as if *Israel* and *Abraham* had *two natures*, or another beside the human. But because the mention of such Texts had baffled his argument, he had the honesty not to take notice of them, tho one of them was the verse but one before that which he argues from. Will such childish craft ever uphold his cause long? 'Tis plain, that the phrase, *according to the flesh*, signifies according to *carnal descent*; and if there be any opposition in the other phrase, *according to the spirit*, it notes his *spiritual descent*. Not that *Jesus Christ* was constituted of these two, but he had

his origination both ways ; he was of his *Mother's* substance, by the power of the *Spirit*, so that *after the flesh*, or by the *Mother's* side, he was the *Son of David* ; but by the *other* side, as from the *Spirit*, he was *Son of God*, tho the same man still. And then what does all his straining come to ? Is not here a goodly foundation for his proof of Christ's Deity ?

Another weak observation he makes on *John* 1. 14. The *Unitarians* say, it should be render'd *the Word was* (not *was made*) *flesh* ; because the common reading justifies *Eutychianism*. For one thing is not properly *made* another by mere *union* to it ; but by a natural *change*, as the *water was made wine*. No personal union can justify the saying *God was made man* : We cannot say the *Soul is made body or bones*, because *united* thereto. So that to say the *Word*, meaning God, *was made flesh*, is far beyond a personal union, and implies, that the infinite divine nature was really *chang'd* into a corruptible thing. I challenge the Doctor, or any man, to shew me, that ever *ἐγένετο* signifies *was united* ; and if not, then the Trinitarian sense of that Text is certainly false, except they allow the *Eutychian* heretical sense. And therefore the *Unitarians* say the *word was flesh*, or Christ the word and messenger of God was a *mortal man* like us, in whom nevertheless God's glory shone forth.

Now, says our great critic Dr. *Sherlock*, this cannot be, that *ἐγένετο* should be render'd *was flesh*. Why not ? Is it not so *ver. 6*. *There was a man sent* ? But, says he, 'tis never to be render'd *was*, when 'tis a *copula between a subject and a predicate* : and yet the good Doctor could not perceive that in that very Text which he speaks of, the word *ἐγένετο* is certainly (tho he did not understand it) a *copula* between *ἄνθρωπος* and *ἀπεσταλ-*
μένος,

μὲν, which last word is the predicate, and no part of the subject. I don't think the Doctor has any good luck either at criticisms in Greek, or speculations in divinity, to encourage him to go on, after so many stumbles.

But because 'tis endless to be *capping Texts*, while we fix not a rule of interpreting them, but each expounds them according to his *pre-conceiv'd hypothesis*; therefore, to come to some issue of the controversy, 'tis necessary to fix on some principles agreed on both sides, and by them to take our measures in interpreting *Texts* that are of *variable accommodation*, unless the sense be determin'd by *the nature of the subject*. And this is the best way to find in what sense the name of God is intended, whether for a *supreme* or *secondary power*, (for naturally 'tis no more one than the other, as the term *Lord* among us) and what *creation* is intended, old or new, and what *worship*, &c. when attributed to Jesus Christ.

To this end I will lay down the Doctor's *own rule* for expounding Scripture, and observe it with his own limitations.

His rule for expounding Scripture, when we appeal to it for decision of any question, is this; viz. *To confine ourselves to the plain and natural signification of the words*. And tho he says, *his adversaries will oppose this with all their might*; and if this be once admitted, *there is an end of Socinianism*: yet he is much mistaken, they'll freely give him this imaginary advantage, because they judge the fair obvious sense of Scripture is for the *Unitarians*, and against their opposers. I'll seek no more liberty in going off from the natural sense of a Text, than the Doctor himself allows in his explanation of his rule. For,

He grants, we may recede from the obvious *literal sense*, when *the nature of the thing will not* P. 65.

allow a proper literal sense; that it would be absurd to understand some things literally; and that the way to know what is a metaphor, and what not, is from a previous knowledge of the nature of the things to which they are apply'd. So that if the Unitarians can shew, that the nature of a deriv'd Being will not admit the title of supreme God, or first cause, then they have his leave to deny the title of supreme God to Jesus Christ from a previous knowledge of his nature, that will not admit it. And indeed to argue from the nature of the subject, is better than to argue from a thousand dubious Texts; because they must all be determin'd in their sense from that at last.

P. 66.

Nay, I will not only close with this rule, but I will approve his example too, by which he illustrates it; *When we read of the face, eyes, ears, hands of God, says he, we know all this must be expounded to a metaphorical sense, because Reason and Scripture assure us God has no body.* So then, if it can be made appear, that the Unitarians have as good reason to reject what the Doctor accounts the literal sense of the Scripture, in relation to the Trinity and Deity of Jesus Christ, as he or his party have for rejecting the opinion of the Anthropomorphites, or of God's having a body; then it must be granted that they act justly, and offer no more violence than the Doctor himself, and other Trinitarians. And upon this point I will join issue with him, and leave it to impartial men to judge, whether the Unitarians have not better reasons for denying the supreme Deity of Jesus Christ, than the Doctor, or the Trinitarians can pretend for denying God to have a body, upon their principles.

First, I am afraid, tho the Doctor rejects the opinion of God's having a Body, with great disdain

dain and positive assurance; yet upon his *Trinitarian* principles, he has no reason at all for so doing: but is bound to hold that gross notion along with the opinion of the *incarnation of the supreme God the Son, by a personal union to a Body*; because this last justifies the other. Where one text is alledg'd for the incarnation of *God the Son*, I suppose a thousand may be brought to prove bodily members to belong to *God the Father* of old. The Doctor owns, there is full testimony; only he says, *Reason and Scripture* warrant his quitting the literal sense, and *assure us that God has no external Shape and Body*. But I deny the Scripture says any such thing directly; and as to reason, by his principles, it cannot be against that opinion neither.

1. Where does the Scripture say God had *no Body*? Does it not say he had *Face and Eyes*, &c. but never says he had none? It says indeed, *God is a Spirit* (tho but once, *John* 4. 24. where the sense is doubtful too :) But what then? may he not be an *embodiy'd Spirit* for all that, as Man is? Sure the *Anthropomorphites* may allow God to have a Spirit to animate his Body, as well as Men have. So that the Doctor seems but to pretend to join Scripture with *Reason*, that he might not be thought to rely on *Reason alone*, in thwarting the literal sense of so many thousand texts.

So that I doubt Reason must take the matter wholly upon *itself*, to maintain that the Deity (tho said to have almost all the bodily members under the Old Testament) was not an *incarnate embody'd Spirit*, or personally united to *Flesh*. But shall proud Reason so correct Revelation? and that not in one single text, but in the current strain of Scripture: and these texts so plain (may some say, after the *Trinitarian* dialect) that

God must needs intend to be understood in that obvious sense, or to deceive us in a very great point, by speaking contrary to the known use of words. What ! cannot the *Trinitarians* humble their reason to so many clear texts ? What tho it seems harsh, has not God said it, and is not that enough ? How know they how far he can separate all imperfection from a body, tho their *shallow reason* cannot comprehend it ? This is just such *pride of reason* as they charge on *Unitarians*, but yet damn and persecute 'em for it ; while on their own side 'tis no crime at all.

But the worst of it is, I don't see how reason itself can help the Doctor in this case neither : I mean, according to his *notion* of a personal union of the *divine nature* in Jesus Christ to a human body ; because this opinion has exactly *all the absurdities* (at least as great as any) which he can charge upon the *Anthropomorphites*. And if his reason can admit 'em all in the one case, why should it be affrighted with them in the other ? This is but mere *humour*, not justice nor reason. Therefore,

2. How can reason assure the Doctor, or any of his *party*, that God has not had a body all along from the first ? If nothing but utter impossibility must drive us to a figurative sense of the text, how can they pretend it impossible for God to have bodily members ? For they can never demonstrate any impossibility in it ; but contrariwise do declare it to be *possible* : nay more, that the *divine nature actually is incarnate, is made flesh, and had Blood* to shed in the second person, and why not in the *first person* before ? Is it more impossible for God the Father to have a body all along, than for God the Son to have one for ever, when both are said to be the *same divine nature* ? Either 'tis an eternal contradiction to *true reason* for

for God to have a body, or 'tis none at all for true reason is ever the same. And therefore,

The *Trinitarians* mouths must be for ever stopt here ; they must not talk of the imperfections that attend a body, or the like : for since they say there is no imperfection in it, that hinders the *divine nature* in the Son from being *incarnate*, by a personal union to a body ; why should it hinder the incarnation of the *same nature* in the Father ? None need plead for more in the case, than that God the Father, under the Old Testament, has all along been *personally united to a body*, as nearly as *God the Son* is said to be so under the Gospel, by the *Trinitarians*.

One opinion is as defensible at the bar of reason as the other, as well as by Scripture. So then either let the Doctor confess he has no reason for denying the *incarnation of the Father*, at least under the Old Testament ; or let him justify the *Socinians* in denying the incarnation of any *divine nature in the Son* under the New ; since they must needs have as good reason on their side, as the Doctor on his. Renounce *both*, or hold *both Opinions* together, since they are so much alike ; and for shame cease clamouring against the *Unitarian*, and reproaching them with straining the Scriptures, while you imitate 'em to the utmost ; and were it not for the same practice (*viz. putting the most easy and rational sense upon the Scriptures*) you could not avoid turning *Anthropomorphite* and *Muggletoman*.

Here the *Unitarians* might rest, as having said enough to justify their procedure, by an argument *ad hominem* ; but *ex abundanti*, they can shew more solid and direct reason still, why they renounce the Doctor's notion of the Trinity and supreme Deity of Jesus Christ, and much greater

than he can shew, upon his principles, for refusing to be an *Anthropomorphite*. I'll tell him some of their reasons, even such as he must own to be pertinent, if made out.

First, they judge it very hard to suppose a *deriv'd Being* to be the most high God. The Doctor owns Jesus Christ to be a *begotten Being*, a *distinct substantial Person*: and when he tells us, that *whatever difficulty there is in conceiving a Trinity in Unity, yet there is none in the notion of God's having an eternal Son*; he must mean a *distinct substantial Son*, tho' of the same *specific nature*; for else it is as great a difficulty as that of the *Trinity in Unity*, if I must conceive the *same* single substance to be an underiv'd Father, and yet a begotten Son. *Two* such persons in the single unity of substance is as hard to conceive as *three*, or more such: but if he meant that the Son is a *distinct substance*, begotten of the Father, then 'tis not indeed hard to conceive God's having a Son; but 'tis very hard still, to believe this begotten Son to be the very God, whose Son he is; or to be the supreme God, or *first cause*, when his Being is *deriv'd* from a Father.

For whether they be *nominal* or *real* Trinitarians, they generally own, that our Lord Jesus Christ derives his *divine nature* from the Father. The notion of a *Son* implies it; the primitive *Fathers* declare the Father to be the *fountain* of the Son's deity, and some of 'em expressly say he was the *cause*. The Doctor grants this, and Dr. *Whitby* abundantly discovers it in his Comment on *John* 14. 28, that the *Son receives his divine nature dependently from the Father*: And Mr. *Boyse*, in his *Vindicat.* says, *his divine nature is deriv'd*. In short, 'tis the Catholic Faith of the *Trinitarians* in the *Nicene Creed*, which is the standard of *their* orthodoxy, and a
part

part of the constant public worship, and subscrib'd to by *Dissenting Ministers*, that he is God of God; not Son of the Father, to denote the relation, but *God of God*, to denote the divine essence or nature to be deriv'd, as *God*; i. e. *his divine nature*, of the divine nature of the Father: so that who so denies the Son's *deity* to be deriv'd, declines from the common *Nicene* faith (and sets up a novel doctrine) as much as the *Unitarians*.

Now here the *Unitarians* find matter of objection: they think, as the Doctor in his sober moods says, That *the most natural notion of God* ^{P. 128.} *is, that he is the first cause*. But then how can he be the *first cause*, who (as all sides grant) is a *caused* deriv'd being from another cause? Can he be possibly more than a second *cause*, who has a cause of himself? The universally receiv'd notion of a God among Men, is, that he is absolutely the *first unoriginate cause*; and 'tis only by demonstrating *such* a being, that I can prove a *Deity*. We must trace remote Effects up to a *first cause* that is self-existent: and should we argue with an *Atheist* to prove a God, 'tis this we must drive him to. But if we tell him only of one, whom we confess to be a *begotten Son*, deriv'd of his Father; he would justly reply, that this is not to the purpose for proof of what mankind mean by a God. There may be still an eternal succession of causes, if the highest being I can pretend to prove, be a *begotten being*, (and if Christ's being be the highest essence, then the highest essence, that we acknowledge, is but a derived one) and so the *Atheist* can never be confuted this way. No, I must find another being who has the *self-existence* and independence, which Jesus Christ is not pretended to have by the Doctor himself,
or

or I am still to seek for my ultimate end, in whom to rest my mind.

Howe's
living Tem-
ple, Part 1.
cap. 2.
§. 13.

So that there is no good proof of the Deity, without *unoriginate self-existence* : and then how shall I prove Jesus Christ to be that Deity, if he has not that perfection? To prove him to have *all power and wisdom, &c.* does not do it, if it be such only as a deriv'd being may receive ; and also if it come from a higher fountain and cause. *Self-existence* then being the most peculiar, and most *indisputably divine* perfection, and essential to the Deity, I would fain know, whether *he* be the most absolutely perfect being, who wants this most *certainly divine* and noblest perfection? Nay the Doctor has told us, that *an infinite being signifies a being that has all possible perfections—and that is a finite imperfect being, that wants any perfections.* So that he must either shew, that self-existence, and prime causality, and absolute independency is *no perfection* ; or else must grant that the *Son*, who is not self-existent and independent, does want a glorious divine perfection—and then by his own confession, *that is but a finite being which wants any perfections.*

Vindic.
Trin.
p. 78.

To say the *Son* is equal in other things, but not in this, is to give up the cause : 'tis the same as to say, that he is not the *same nature*, but *specifically different*, not having all the same essential perfections as the Father ; not so honourable or amiable ; being inferior to him upon the whole, but yet as like him as *another inferior being can be*, which is plain *Arianism*. For every exception of a perfection is a *limitation*, and a limited being is not the most *high*. Men may talk and write against the *Unitarians* to the world's end, and to no purpose, till they answer this objection ; for 'tis here the matter sticks, and in this they triumph as unanswerable.

And

And this I rather urge, because 'tis according to the Doctor's own rule, who tells us, *that from the previous knowledge of the nature of the subject* we must learn what sense to give to expressions and characters that are apply'd to it. Here then we have a *deriv'd dependent Being* under consideration; the question now is, in what sense the *title of God*, and other characters, can be apply'd to him? Whether the title of *supreme God*, or of *subordinate*, be intended? If it be not therefore consistent with a *derivative dependent Being* to be the supreme God, or the *first cause*, (which the Doctor says is our *most natural* notion of God) then the Unitarians act most wisely, in not applying that character of God to *him* who is a *deriv'd Being*, in such a high sense as the *nature* of the subject will not admit; and therefore it must be in a *subordinate* sense.

Both sides agree in it, that the Son is a derivative Being: so that all the titles of *God*, *Lord*, &c. and the attributes of power and knowledge, worship, and works of creation, &c. must be so understood as they are capable of belonging to such a *deriv'd Being*. We must not, from uncertain *titles* and *names*, think to determine what the subject is (which is to come in at the back-door, a more obscure way) when we can *à priori* prove that the subject is not capable of such names and titles in the pretended sense: 'tis but reasonable that the known nature of the subject should rule and limit the sense of uncertain names and characters, &c. rather than equivocal names and words should rule the subject, or be brought to force upon it what 'tis well known it cannot bear. *Such* worship, *such* power, &c. as a *dependent deriv'd Being* is capable of, is all that the Scripture ascribes to him. 'Tis much easier to suppose a *subordinate*

dinate Being to have subordinate power and worship, and the names of God in a subordinate sense, than to suppose a derivative begotten Being to be the supreme God; the Unitarians think the first, and the Trinitarians the latter, which is the more absurd.

'Tis therefore a pleasant fancy in the Doctor, to challenge us to prove, that *the one God is but one person, any otherwise than as the Father, who is the fountain of the Deity, who begat a Son* [not in his own sameness, but it seems as Adam did, Gen. 5. 3.] *in his own likeness, is called the only true God.* That is, we may not prove there is but *one person that is God*, from this prime essential perfection of *self-existence*, which 'tis granted belongs but to *one person*: which is just the same as to say, we must not prove it by that which is the most *evident*, and perhaps the only way to find out what person is most high God. But why should he think us such fools to let go our best arguments, and then to try if we can prove our cause without them? No, Sir, first do you shew us, that this is no necessary essential perfection of the supreme God, to be *self-existent* or *uncaused*, and then we will hearken to you; but till then, you seem to own that we have an argument of force enough to baffle all you say, and therefore you'd craftily persuade us to quit it. I'm sure he is a noble and glorious Being, who is so necessary and excellent as to *be* without an author or *cause*: for being of *none*, he has none to limit his Being; and therefore must have fulness of infinite unbounded perfection. Whereas a deriv'd Being *may possibly* and easily be limited by his cause or author: and unless God can cause and produce or beget (for there is no great difference which) another infinite Being, who also is God, it must needs be so limited.

In short, the great *Jehovah* disdains that any should be thought or said to have given to him ; *Who hath given to him ?* Will our Lord *Jesus* make Rom. 11. that absolute challenge, who says, that his *Fa- 35. ther had given him all ?* or will he equal his deriv'd receiv'd being and perfections to the Father's, who gave it ? when himself used that maxim, that *'tis more blessed to give, i. e. more excellent and worthy, than to receive.* Acts 20. 35.

Nay, I find the Apostle arguing this point with great authority and evidence : *What hast thou 1 Cor. 4. which thou hast not received ; and if thou hast 7. received it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it ?* What if some one (tho with great veneration for the only-begotten Son of God) should apply this to the blessed *Jesus*, who is *worthy of the glory and honour* he is exalted to ; and say, what is or hath he, which he hath not receiv'd ? and if he hath received it, why should any boast as if he had not received it ? or as if he did not owe respect and duty to him who gave him all ? how would this be answer'd ?

Here is no straining of Scriptures, or the natural notions we have of things ; no artificial subtilties in these reasonings ; 'tis plain, serious, honest and cogent argument, which the Doctor, or any other, is desired with like plainness and fairness to give an answer to, as soon as he can. Till this be done, we shall think we have much greater reason for denying his strain'd interpretation of some texts for the Deity of Christ, than he has for denying God to have *bodily members.*

The sum of all is ; 'tis *essential* to the divine nature to be *unoriginate.* The question then will be, how *he* can have that divine nature, who being a deriv'd *Being*, wants what is essential to the divine nature ; or how can he have the

the *essence* who wants what is essential to it? for to want what is essential to it, is the same as to want the *essence*, and he who wants it has it not. I dare not say, Almighty God is a *deriv'd* Being; but if Jesus Christ be the Almighty God, and his divine nature be his *Father's* nature, will it not follow, that the *Almighty Father's* nature is deriv'd, because it is the deriv'd nature of the Son *that is the Father's*? And so being but one divine nature, *and this deriv'd*, there will be no unoriginate divine nature, unless we speak contradictions, and say the same is unoriginate, and yet is caus'd and deriv'd.

Secondly, the *Unitarians* judge it to be very clear, that *God Almighty is but one person*, or He. The Doctor challenges them to prove from Scripture, that *the one God is one single person*. Now it must be known, that by a *person* he fairly means a distinct *substantial person*, or *infinite mind*, (as all the world, I believe, out of this dispute do, and the antient Church did) and by *three persons*, three infinite minds, as he has declar'd in his *Vindication of the Trinity*, to which he refers us in this book. He is rightly sensible, that to make a Trinity of *modes* is but a juggle, and blind for *Sabellianism*, &c. since neither *Sabellius*, nor *Arius*, nor *Socinus*, would ever deny such three modes, as God's *self-knowledge*, *self-complacence*, and *original mind*; nor had they been ever the nearer to the church's communion for owning it. And since all the common arguments from Scripture, *viz.* from *personal notes*, *I, Thou, He*, &c. do prove three persons in the vulgar sense, or prove none at all; because they were never in this world used to be put for *modes* of one person, and therefore could never be design'd by God in such a strange sense: I say, he is just in his notion of such a *person*.

But

But it seems the easiest thing of many, to prove there cannot be *two infinite minds*, or beings, or that God is but *one such person*; else there is no supreme mind or *spirit* that can say truly, *I am, and there is none besides me*. Sure no more is God than what is necessary Being; but if one infinite mind be all perfection (else 'tis not infinite) then no more is necessary. Again, if there be but one *person* that is *first cause*, or that has the divine essential perfection of independent self-existence, then there can be but one person who is God; since the Doctor grants, that our most *natural notion of God* is, that he is the *first cause*.

I know his expression of *one solitary person* seems to imply, that plurality is requisite for *delicious society*, lest it be not good for God to be *alone*; as if that *glorious ineffable Being* were indigent like one of us, who need social help, or as if he was not to himself instead of a *thousand*: and if there must be provision against his *solitude*, why not three hundred rather than three persons? What do men think of the great God, who argue at this rate? No wonder, if they think not *one such person* enough for *their happiness*, who is thought not sufficient for his *own*.

The Doctor tells us, *each person in the Trinity has the perfection of the whole Trinity*. Then I think one is as good as all three, and the rest seem to be made by him utterly unnecessary; and what is so, is not essential to God. And if *all* perfections are *common* to the three, then how can they be *distinguish'd* by *any* perfections? And if not distinguish'd by *some* perfections, how are they *at all* distinguish'd? If *no way* distinguish'd, how are they *three distinct persons*? But if they are distinguish'd each by *some* perfection, then *one alone* has not *all* perfections, and so has not the

the perfections of the *whole Trinity*; nay, is but a *finite Being*, according to the Doctor.

But perhaps he likes not that we should reason upon the matter, but only bring *Scripture-proof*: to that therefore I come, and shall see whether the Scripture does not warrant us to say that God is but one *single person*. Do we not find God represented to us here, constantly under personal notes of the *singular number*? When he speaks to men, 'tis *I* and *Me*; *Thou shalt have no Gods before me*, not *before us three*; *I am thy God*, not *we are thy God*. When spoken unto, is it not always *O Thou*? is it ever *O Ye*? When spoken of, 'tis said *He*, never *They*. Now the Doctor tells us, P. 222. that *I* signifies a *person*; so then compleat God is but one singular person or *I*.

And thus we read, that *God is one*, θεός εἷς ἑστὶ. Gal. 3. 20. God is not said to be εἷς, *one thing*, in the neuter Jam. 2. 19. gender, but *one* in the masculine; *i. e.* one person, *unus*, not *unum*: which is quite against the common dialect of the *Trinitarians*, that say God is *alius* & *alius*, but not *aliud* & *aliud*; for if he be but one, or *unus*, then he is not *unus* & *alius*, or divers persons. Now, how dare any say, that God is *three* in the plural, when the Scripture declares him to be but *one* in the singular number? And when it speaks but of *one God*, it limits it expressly to the *Father*, as the *one Lord* (or subordinate intermediate agent, as 'tis there intended plainly) is limited to Jesus Christ. So *John* 17. 3: *Thee* (Father) *the only true God*, as distinct from *Jesus Christ*, sent by him.

1 Cor. 8. 5.

Perhaps some will run to the old trifling remarks upon *Gen.* 1. 26. *Let us make man*, to prove a plurality. But as it is frequent for one person to use the *plural*, which has an air of authority in it, and I doubt not but it might be so used then, as well as now: so if *Elohim* be of plural meaning

meaning at all, it must signify a *plurality of Gods*; if the singular be *one God*, then the plural must be *more* than one God. And if a plurality of persons will not warrant us to say *Gods* in the plural, then neither was that the reason of saying *Elohim*, or *Gods*, in the *Hebrew*.

But 'tis very apparent that was not the intent of such expressions, (viz. *to teach us a plurality of persons in God*) because they are *only* used, and but *rarely* neither, in the *Old Testament*, where 'tis confess'd the doctrine of the *Trinity* was not explicitly reveal'd; but they are never *once* used in the *New Testament*, of which 'tis pretended that Doctrine is the fundamental article. To us *Christians* he never speaks so; and sure he would have done it as fully as to the *Jews*, if he intended we should *believe* it more explicitly and fully than they, who understood it not. Sure 'tis in the Gospel we should find God using this language, *we* and *us*, and others in their addressees saying *ye*, &c. if ever that had been design'd to express a *Trinity*: for no proof had been more clear, nor any style more *natural* than this current way of speech, supposing God to be *three persons*. So that 'tis evident it was but an *idiom* of language, and has no argument in it, since the *New Testament* shuns all such style, where yet it had been most proper for that purpose.

Nay, the using the singular notes *thou* and *he*, quite overturns the other; because, tho some single persons may assume an air of majesty sometimes, and say *we*, and yet none suspects more than one to speak it; yet never was it heard that three persons in proper speaking should affect a *diminishing form* of speech, or say *I*: for by that none will ever suppose more than one person intended. So that 'tis as evident as can be, that the Scripture, especially the *Christian*

revelation, speaks God to be one singular person: whereas *three persons in one Being* had been so strange a matter, that the most particular care and accuracy of expression, had been necessary to be used, if that had been to be reveal'd to our faith.

So that all that is in God, is intended and comprehended in one single *he*, and one single *he*, cannot be *three he's* or *they*. 'Tis not ye or they are God, but *thou art God*. The unity of essence had been secure in saying *God* in the singular number; but the personal notes must have been plural, if a Trinity of persons had been design'd.

It signifies nothing to say there are *three persons* or *he's* that have the *name of God* given them, (tho of one 'tis never prov'd at all) for that may be in different senses of the character *God*. And since the supreme God is but *one he*, the other *he's* must not be *that* God, whatever character they have. 'Tis easier to suppose there may be *Gods*, that are not the most High God, but in another sense, than that there should be *three he's* or persons in a God who expressly says, he is but *one he* or *me*; but one *Spirit*, John 4. 24. not three Spirits: the one is possible or obvious from Scripture, the *other* seems not possible, nor is it asserted.

But because the Doctor requires, that we produce a Text which teaches that *Jesus Christ is but a mere man, and a God by office*, we shall proceed to this; tho there is no necessity we should do it: for why should any suspect, that a mortal man should be the supreme God, that we need prove *this negative*? Where is there a Text that teaches us that *Moses* was but a man? 'Tis enough that he was a man. So that *Jesus* was a man is plain, and that he was *anointed God* is plain,

plain, *Heb. i. 8, 9.* But what need is there to have it said he was no more, if none then suppos'd, that an anointed God was the same as the *supreme God by nature?* For then why need he, or how could he be anointed or commission'd by another? However, to gratify him, let us try if the sacred Text does not declare Jesus Christ not to be God by nature, by denying absolutely that he has omniscience, and supposing some ignorance in him as the *Son of God*, which will appear under the next argument. For,

Thirdly, The Unitarians offer another reason from *Mark 13. 32.* *Of that day knows none* ('tis not *Man* in the original, as the Doctor implies) *not the Angels, nor the Son, but the Father, or my Father only,* as 'tis *Mat. 24. 36.* for both expressions are the same in sense; and *none but my Father*, is as much a limitation, as *none but my Father only.* Hence the Doctor forms a good argument: *To be ignorant of any one thing, cannot be* P. 198. *reconcil'd with a perfect knowledge — and were he true and perfect God, of the same substance with his Father, he could be ignorant of nothing.* Very true! but how does he answer the Text that says, *The Son knows not of that day, but the Father only?* Why, truly, he gives but the common answer, viz. That he knew it not in his *human* nature, but yet supposes that he knew it in his *divine.* Not that he likes that answer neither; for he confesses, 'tis very hard that the Son, who is but P. 199. *one person, tho he have two natures, should be said not to know what he did know, whether he knew it as God or as man.* But says he, in great distress, *this must be the true answer;* why so? or, says he, *I know not how we shall find a better:* that is, we must use this very hard shift, or the cause is utterly lost; and that must be maintain'd, whatever the Text says: and therefore, tho we don't

offer a good reason, yet we must stand by what we have: a hard case indeed!

Then he proceeds to blame his ignorance of the *personal union*, as the reason of this nonplus; but why does he take up such a notion of the *personal union*, as the Scripture never asserts, and which he cannot reconcile with it? Does he not often declare, that what belongs but to one nature, is to be attributed to the person? But now that it will not hold good upon due examination, but is turn'd against his cause, he would pretend he does not know what the union is. Is this fair? And if he knows not what it is, how can he tell it would serve his purpose, if he knew it better? This is a *poor come-off*. Why may not the *Eutychians* as well set up an unintelligible mixture, as others an unintelligible union?

Therefore the Doctor must try again, how to make good the old answer, as well as he can. He tells us, *Jesus Christ* has two understandings: How appears that? or what is it to the purpose, if he understands the *day of Judgment* with neither? or how is either of them a divine understanding? Again, says he, *Jesus Christ opposes the knowledge of creatures only to that of the Father*. Who denies it? But then the *Unitarians* say, the *Son of God the Father* is among *them*, who are oppos'd to the Father, and whom the Doctor accounts creatures. For the Text says not creatures at all, but mentions Angels and the *Son*; and if the Son was more than a creature, then the Father was not oppos'd to creatures only, when oppos'd to the person of the Son, for sure the person of the Son is all that he is.

However, if the Son be not the *Father*, then where the *Father only* knows, and that as distinct from the Son, there the Son does not know; because he is no way the Father in distinction

tion from the Son, to whom alone as so distinct, that knowledge is appropriated: and 'tis in this the argument lies, and not only in the Son's being said not to know it.

'Tis a vain pretence of some, that the *Son and Spirit are not excluded here*, while yet they are forc'd to own, that by the Father is not meant *all three persons*, but the *first of the sacred three*; and yet *he only* is said to know. Thus weakly and desperately I find a late Author argue, viz. P. 100. Mr. J. Boyse, in his pretended *Vindication of Christ's* Edit. 4^a *Deity*. To confute all this, let us but put his comment in the place of the text, and 'tis thus; *None, no not the Son, knows of that day, but only the first of the sacred three*. Now one would think, that where the *first* of the *three* only is excepted from being ignorant, the other two were not excepted; for then it could not be said, *none but the first*, if the second and third also were excepted. So that this wholly gives up the cause, as not to be vindicated; since it leaves the Son of God ignorant of something, which the Father knew.

As frivolous it is to say, that because he was call'd the *Son of man*, Mat. 24. 30. therefore *only* the Son of man, or his human nature, was intended in *ver. 36.* tho he had a divine. What, Mat. 16. are there two Sons? Is not the *Son of man* the *Son of God* also? If so, then 'tis the same Son under both names: or, supposing another *Son of God*, yet was there ever a *divine Son* that was the Father, or *first of the three*? If not, then is he excluded, let him be what Son he will; because all but the Father is excepted, whether Son of man, or *Son of God*. So that this poor distinction and evasion will not afford any shelter. Nay, does not *Christ* say, *my Father only*? and if the *Father* be God, I hope then *his Son* means

God's Son, or *the Son of God*. So that 'tis as express as if he had said, *of that day knows not the Son of God*, &c. for the Son of the Father was the *Son of God the Father*. So trifling a defence only could the *Vindicator* make against so shining an argument from the sacred Text *; but it was because he was in the Doctor's distress, *not knowing how to find a better*, and so they must speak contradictions, rather than quit a weak defence.

P. 201. Well then they must go to the old refuge: for, says the Doctor, *the incarnate Word being but one person, whatever belongs to either nature, may truly be affirm'd of his person, tho it be not true with respect to more than one nature*. Thus he

P. 263. says, *the eternal Word was born and died*, &c. But then, if we may affirm of the person what belongs to one nature only, why should it not rather be said, that the *Son also knew of that day*, if he knew it in one nature? This is quite against him. In like manner, says he, *If Christ, as man, was ignorant of any thing he yet knew as God, he might truly be said not to know what he did not know as man*. But let him hold a little here: he laid the rule down thus; *That we may affirm of the person what was true of any one nature*, and now instances in a point that implies a *denial to the person of what was true in one nature*. This is just contrary to his rule; for there is a vast difference between affirming and denying in this case: and for the same reason that I can affirm a thing of the person that respects one nature, for that very reason I cannot deny the same thing of that person, because to deny, is to say, I cannot affirm it; and if I can affirm that Jesus Christ *knew that day*, then I cannot deny it without shameful contradiction. Besides, if I may, in absolute terms, deny of the person what he is in one nature, I doubt this would warrant men

to

* See this argument treated more at large, p. 188.

to say, in absolute terms, that Jesus Christ is *not* God, nor higher than a creature, because in one nature 'tis certain he is no more. So that this shift won't do after all.

Now if it appear, that the *Son of God* knew not all that the Father knew, then where is his infinite omniscience? And if after all the large expressions of his *knowing all things, and searching the heart, &c.* it yet be found, that he has but a limited knowledge, then I doubt all other perfections ascrib'd to him in Scripture, will also be suspected to be in a limited sense; since nothing is more largely ascrib'd to him than *knowledge*: and if there be no infinite knowledge, &c. how is there an infinite divine nature?

I must not give over without observing what the Doctor says at the end of this argument, *viz.* That now the *Lamb, whole Christ, not as God* P. 205, *only, but as man, opens the seals, and discovers all those secret counsels of God, with all the variety of events to the end of the world.* Again, says he, *his human nature is perfected with the knowledge of all the divine mysteries of grace and providence, &c.* Now I ask the Doctor, if this do not ascribe as much knowledge to the *Man-Christ*, as the *Unitarians* opinion? And if so, with what face could he represent them for such ridiculous monsters, in giving divine attributes to a Creature, when they say no more than the Doctor here does? Why did he censure it as a piece of *mysterious nonsense* in them to pray to one who cannot hear P. 6. us, nor know what we pray for, unless God reveal it to him? Surely if his human nature know all the counsels of God relating to the government, instruction and support of the church, and all the variety of events to the world's end, and be instructed in all the secrets of government; he may then very well know our prayers, else he

knows not *all events* : and if the Doctor don't think the way of his knowing things by revelation, or other way, to be *ridiculous*, I see not why it should be ridiculous in his eye, for a man to pray to, or trust in him, as one who knows his affairs so well, be it which way it will. If it be no *mysterious nonsense* for the Lord Jesus to govern, as man, by reveal'd knowledge ; how is it nonsense to apply to such a governor, as so qualify'd ? Is he a ruler of the church by his knowledge reveal'd to him, and may not a *subject* of his trust in him, or pray to him on that very ground, without *mysterious nonsense* ? Verily, this is *mysterious confidence*, or ignorance !

Thus I have consider'd the nature of the *subject*, viz. Jesus Christ, that he is a *deriv'd* being ; and of God Almighty, that he is but *one person* ; and of the perfections of Jesus Christ, that they are *limited*. Now it follows, that we must interpret the texts of Scripture accordingly ; which indeed fall in as naturally with the *Unitarian* scheme, as with any, and with less violence than the Doctor offers, as appears by his hard straining with so little success.



A Brief

VINDICATION

OF THE

Bishop of Gloucester's

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING

*The Descent of the Man Christ
Jesus from Heaven, &c.*

From Dr. Sherlock, the Dean of St.
Paul's Charge of Heresy.

With a Confutation of his new Notion in
his late Book of *The Scripture-Proofs of
our Saviour's Divinity.*

1707.

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*A Vindication of Dr. Fowler,
Bishop of Gloucester, against
Dr. Sherlock.*

THE venerable prelate, whose discourse of *the descent of the Man Christ Jesus* the Doctor so severely reflects on, is at least the second of our Right Reverend Fathers, who within a short time have been publickly accus'd of writing *Heresy* in the article of the *Deity of our blessed Saviour*. Alas! that this point should be so dubious, as to be debated among our very Dignitaries to this day; and that our Reverend Fathers and Doctors can come no nearer in agreement here than *Heresy and Truth*!

'Tis not long since the Reverend Dean proclaim'd all those guilty of *heresy and nonsense*, who believe not a Trinity of *three distinct infinite* ^{Vindic.} *Minds and Substances, each of them a God*: which ^{Trin.} other Reverend Doctors say is *Paganism*, and much ^{p. 98, 99.} worse than *Socinianism*. And tho that opinion was censur'd as heretical at *Oxford*, yet the Doctor thinks he can find *Divines* enough to do the like by the opinion of his condemners.

Now again he charges a Reverend Father's book, with asserting what *may shake the founda-* ^{P. 229.} *tions of all religion, as well as of Christianity*; and with advancing an hypothesis, *that overthrows the whole doctrine of our salvation, and all our hopes of immortality by the incarnation and death of Jesus*
Christ

P. 273. *Christ*——and yet corrupts not the *Christian Faith*, more than it does the *Christian Worship*. And to render these reproaches the more cutting, he tells us what an *old friendship* and particular respect he has for the Bishop, which restrain'd him from some *Remarks* that else the subject might bear. So that these are represented as the most favourable Remarks a mind full of respect for the author could in justice make upon his book.

P. 245.

How far respect moderated the *Dean*, I shall not pretend to determine ; but I find his aggravations are far beyond his proofs.

The sum of the matter I take to be this : It is a great objection of some against the common doctrine of the *Trinitarians*, that 'tis inconsistent with the Scripture-account of *Christ's* humiliation. The Gospel magnifies his love to us in this matter as most transcendent, not only for the sufferings he underwent, but also on account of the great benefits and glory which he laid aside in order thereto. *He emptied himself*; and being rich, he became poor. Hereupon they inquire, how any man can rationally account for these things according to the common notion of the person of Christ? viz. That only his divine nature was before his conception in the blessed Virgin, and that then the whole human nature, soul and body, began to be.

Now, says the *Arian*, how could the Lord Jesus by this account, of rich become poor, or empty himself, or come down from heaven, and that by such a descent as answers to his local ascension? His divine nature could not descend, could not be stript of any uncreated glory, for God cannot suffer diminution; he cannot deny himself, being immutably perfect. And the human nature could not be made poor, that never had been richer, being born in poverty, in a man-

ger; nor could it empty itself of glory it never had. And if nothing was parted with upon our Lord's coming into the world, upon what ground do we extol the love of our blessed Lord in *coming from heaven*, and parting with his glory, and emptying himself to become man, &c?

Nay, how could he possibly *come down from heaven*, answerably to his local ascent, to which 'tis oppos'd so often? I find the difficulty rather increas'd than remov'd by some that handle this subject: among the rest, a very ingenious person (tho a very sour writer in these controversies, who therefore ought to have been more wary) seems horribly confounded; I mean Dr. South, (with whom the common writers agree) who, in his third Volume of Sermons treats of this subject.

Speaking of Christ's coming into the world, he says, *That it is impossible for his divine nature* P. 366. *to come, because coming is a motion from the place where one is, to a place in which he was not before; whereas infinity (the property of the divine nature) implies a presence to all places.* Well then, one would think if Jesus Christ came down at all, it must be in his *human nature*, for he has no other left to come. No, says he, *That which did* P. 370. *not exist before it was in the world, cannot possibly be said to come into the world, any more than the fruit, that grows on the tree, can be said to come to the tree; which would suppose it were somewhere else before.* So then neither did the human nature come down, for he confesses it did not exist P. 371 *before the conception in the Virgin.*

But what way then did he come down from heaven? The *Socinian* sense of coming forth from God by virtue of his commission, is ridicul'd as *forc'd*. Besides, then we should lose all those texts, from whence Christ's pre-existence was wont to

to be prov'd ; and this would anger Mr. Dean, who says they are the *principal proofs* of Christ's Divinity. But what then must be said in the case? Dr. South says, he came not down in the *divine nature*, nor in the *human*, and gives seeming reasons for it : and if neither nature came down, I see not how he can pretend it of the whole person. For tho we are sometimes told by the Dean and others, that by virtue of the personal union, what belongs to one nature only, may be attributed to the person ; yet I never can believe such a *communication of properties*, as that what belongs to neither nature should be attributed to the person. This is a dark state of the case !

P. 368.

But I must not forget to do this ingenious Doctor this justice, that between those pages which contain these harsh inconsistent matters, he has very conveniently placed a needful caution, *viz.* that this doctrine, *i. e.* of the personal union of two natures in Jesus Christ, *brings both ends of the contradiction together*, and so he is safe ; and no doubt with that fine knack he may explain any mystery in the world, and need not fear to undertake *transubstantiation*. But if this be the real case, that I must reconcile contradictions, before I can have any rational account of the love of Jesus Christ in coming down into this world, I think Christianity will not gain much credit by such explanations and *solutions*, any more than by such assertions as that remarkable one, p. 316. (in which no doubt the *Socinians* will cordially join with him) *viz.* that his faith, in relation to the person of Jesus Christ, is such, *That, as he says, were it not to be ador'd as a mystery, it would be exploded as a contradiction.* A fine issue of the controversy !

The

The *Arian* thinks he gives a more intelligible and rational account of the matter by his principles: That *Jesus Christ* did truly leave his former glory, and came down to live in poverty on earth; and that herein was great love, because it was a very sensible and evident loss and humiliation. And this gives a plain account of his *leaving heaven* and his *Father's throne*, and the like: which are phrases continually in the mouths and writings of our Divines; but with what sense, according to the common principles, appears not yet.

Now, I suppose, his Lordship thought to give us some ease in these matters, by *another* account of *Christ's* humiliation and descent, that might more clearly answer to the Scripture, and raise a nobler idea of *his* love to men, than the common *diminutive* one; which swells high in words, but being examin'd into, seems to dwindle into little or nothing of real *self-emptying* love. This might be his *Lordship's* design, and the *occasion* of his discourse.

Next, let us see what reason the *Dean* had to quarrel with it, or how he has mended the matter by his new scheme or *fancy*.

The Bishop asserts the pre-existence of *Christ's human spirit*, which he supposes was first in heaven, and left it and its glory there for a while, to live in a body on this earth; and some Texts at their first and most obvious view do certainly favour such a pre-existence, if no subtle strains be used to evade it; as *John 3. 13. The Son of man was in heaven*. Why should he name the person by the title from his human nature, if he intended to speak of what belonged to a divine nature, which perhaps none to whom he spake knew any thing of? So *John 17. 5. Give me the glory I had with thee before the world was*.

Nor

P. 232.

Nor had the Dean any reason to quarrel with the Bishop for rendring ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ ἑρανῶ, *who was in heaven*, rather than *is in heaven*; for as this leaves no difficulty in the sense, so 'tis agreeable to the Scripture-use of the word. Is it not necessarily so render'd, *John 9. 25. I was blind, but now see?* ὢν, *having been so, not being so.* Does not *Beza* himself turn it, *qui erat, who was in heaven?* But forsooth, *this is no great mystery*, says the Doctor; as if we must have nothing of *sense and rational notions* in Scripture, but only *mysteries*. And because he would not lose one of the number of his Texts in his common-places for the Deity of Jesus Christ, therefore right or wrong the Doctor will be for the other sense, and hopes by standing stiffly for it, he may do some service to such, as mind the number of Texts more than their force. But it is well known the *Socinians* would not grant the Doctor's reading, if the Bishop had; and what had it signify'd to argue from a reading of the Text, which could not be prov'd to be certainly true?

P. 239.

Thus he finds fault with reading another Text, *John 8. 58. Before Abraham was, I was*; and is so warm as to pretend that ἐγὼ εἰμι *must needs be I am*, and that *I am* must be the peculiar name of *Jehovah*. This he presses so far as to say, that to change *I am* for *I was*, is *certainly to part with the most express proof of our Saviour's divinity*. I am amaz'd that a great Dignitary should tell the world, that this is *the most express proof* he has for Christ's divinity, viz. that he speaks thus of himself, *I am*; which is the ready way to expose a cause by catching at shadows instead of solid arguments. Would it prove the blind man to be the *I am*, because he says the same words, *John 9. 9. 'Εγὼ εἰμι, I am?* Is it not manifestly used for the time past, *John 14. 9.*

τοσοῦτον

τοσοῦτον χρόνον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι, *have I been so long time with you?* And is the best argument for Christ's divinity gone with this slender proof? This straining for arguments never betters a cause, nor does fair receding from an abused or doubtful text weaken it. So that the Bishop has done no such harm to the cause in these things as the Doctor himself.

The Bishop indeed has given up some texts that used to be alledg'd for Christ's Deity, by proving his pre-existence; and these the Doctor calls *most of the principal proofs*. But what would P. 239. those texts avail against the *Arians*, who own a *pre-existence* (which is all that such texts prove) and yet deny his supreme Deity? Let the Doctor shew, that they prove a pre-existence of a *divine nature*, else they are not the *principal*, nor any sort of proofs to the purpose. This should have been the Doctor's work, if he had done any thing to the purpose: the rest is but c'amour, to say they are good proofs, when others deny it, whether the Bishop had given them up or not. The Doctor only shews, they may be consistent with a divine nature pre-existing, and so they may be with the want of it, or with another pre-existing nature for ought he shews.

Next, he runs into clamour against the Bishop's *Nestorianism*, but how does he make it out? Tho' it be the sum of all his charge and reproaches, yet his Lordship never said, the human Soul was a *person* of itself, without the *Logos* (whatever another accused prelate has suggested) but that the *Logos* is personally united to the human Soul, and by it to the body. And where is the *Nestorianism* of this? Why, says the Doctor, *he always speaks in the language of* P. 241. *personal distinction*; for this he instances in his calling him the *man Jesus*, and attributing so much to the *man Jesus*, calling him *Lord and Saviour*, but never calling him the *eternal Word*, &c.

But does the not calling *Jesus* eternal *Word* amount to a denial that he is so? Or, does his calling him *man Christ* deny him to be a divine person? Or does he say more of, or attribute more to the *man Christ* than the *Apostle*? *One Mediator, the man Christ*, 1 Tim. 2. 5. And, *God shall judge the world by the man Christ Jesus*, Acts 17. 31. Either the *Apostle* does hereby exclude the *Word* from being our *Saviour* and *Mediator*, when he attributes such things to the *man Christ*, or else the *Bishop* does not exclude him in saying the same. Nay, does not the *Doctor* himself say, that the title of *Son of man* must signify the eternal *Word* made *man*, and notes the whole person? And why then may not the *Bishop* call *Jesus* the *man*, and speak of the merit of the *man Jesus*; and call the *man Saviour*, and yet be allow'd to mean the same, viz. the eternal *Word* made *man*? especially when he had asserted the personal union of the *man* to the *Word*: so that there could be no person (with him) but the *Word* united to the *man*; and the *man* could be no person, if the one person consist of the two natures. Where did *Nestorius* allow any personal union, as the *Bishop*? The making the human *Soul* a person, as united to the *Word*, is far from making it another person of itself, as the *Doctor* poorly argues. May not the *man* say *I*, and the *Word* say *I*, and yet it be the same person, according to the *Doctor's* notion of the union? Again does it follow, because the *Word* is only incarnate in the incarnation of the pre-existent soul, that it is not incarnate at all? yet so weakly he argues.

And what a ridiculous remark is that, tho' odious enough! where he says, *The only difference between the Arians and the Bishop is this, that they own no Word, or Son of God, but this excellent creature, and the Bishop unites this creature to the eternal Word*: That is, the *Bishop* only differs from

from them in what was deem'd their error. A sad charge! just as if I should say, the only difference between the *Doctor* and the *Socinians* in this point, is, that they hold no other Son of God, but the anointed *Man* Jesus Christ; and the *Doctor* unites this man personally to the second person of the Trinity. What would a capacious mind have!

I confess he gives a wonderful argument against *Nestorianism*, that will charm any man who is fond of jargon. *This Nestorian union*, says he, *is not the union of the human nature to the eternal Word*. He reckons if the man Christ be a person, he can be but a single person; but if it be human nature, that is, no subsistent person of itself, that is united to the Word, then it will be human nature in general will die and suffer, and be redeemed, i. e. the nature of all mankind; whereas, if the man Christ was a single human person, only that particular man might be redeem'd, but not human nature, or all mankind. This I give as the sum of what he says.

One would have thought any man of sense should be ashamed to meddle with the imaginary notion of *universal human nature*, since so great a man as Bishop *Stillingfleet* was gravel'd with it in his debate with Mr. *Locke*. Would there have been less of human nature in our Lord for being a person, as every man else in the world is, and always was? Had Jesus Christ any more than his own particular human essence, as every man has his own particular, like indeed to others, but not theirs at all? Did every man's human nature die, when Jesus Christ died? Or why might not his human person have been every man's person, as well as his nature every man's nature? For my nature is as particular as my person. There is no such thing in the world as *universal*

human nature, abstract from particulars, 'tis but an abstracted notion ; all human nature is in particulars. I conceive Christ's human nature was not the Doctor's, nor is the Doctor's nature which he has here, personally united to the divine *Logos* in heaven. Some human nature is to be *damned*, I hope Christ's nature is not to be so. What trifles does he put upon the world !

Besides, then Christ could not die *instead of all*, or any of mankind, if he was all human nature or mankind : for then it follows, that human nature died and aton'd for itself, without a substitute : and why should human nature perish at all, if all human nature has made ample atonement ?

These are terrible arguments against *Nestorianism* ; and unless the Doctor's human nature be all human nature too, I believe few of that nature will be of his mind. What strange notions are these to serve an *hypothesis* ! Men may talk big, and lay their salvation on what odd notions they will ; but this never moves a wise man to imitate their ravings. But I'll say no more of this, because I hear his *Lordship* intends to vindicate himself from a charge of Heresy.

Let us then go on, to see whether the *Doctor* has at all mended the matter, or given a better account of the Son's *coming down*, and *emptying himself*, so as to take off the abovesaid objection of the *Arians*. For answer to this, he owns, that 'tis a *mystery* to him, how an infinite being, that fills all places, can be said locally to ascend or descend. But yet tho the text speaks it, he will venture to affirm, that *properly it cannot be*, (where by the way observe, that what he calls a *great mystery* in one place, he says is a thing that *properly cannot be* in another ; there is his explication of a *mystery* :) but then how does the

the Son of God descend, if not the *divine* nor the *human* nature can come down properly?

To this he says, *when the eternal Word, who appeared in a visible glory in heaven before the foundation of the world, came down, he put off for a time his visible glory in heaven, and left his Father's throne, and made his personal appearance on earth.*—He put off, not the essential glory of his nature, but the visible manifestation of his personal glory in heaven. His riches were the eternal glory he was possess'd of in heaven, and therefore his becoming poor, was his putting off the visible glory of the Son of God, &c.—Now when the eternal Word translated his personal presence from heaven to earth, he might properly be said to descend from heaven.

Thus, besides the essential glory of the divine nature, he asserts a personal *visible eternal* glory, and manifestation before the world was; and that not by way of possible supposition, but with pre-emptory assertion, as if he personally had seen it. This is no presumptuous prying, I warrant you, into hidden mysteries, as long as 'tis done on his own side! but as the *Hypothesis* is as precarious wholly as that of *Socinus* about the translation of *Jesus* to heaven before his public ministry, (for *John* 3. 13. is as good a proof for his purpose as *John* 17. 5. is for the *Doctor's*; I mean, for proof of a *visible eternal* glory of a divine infinite person) so 'tis weak and absurd on many accounts. For,

1. Was that visible glory a creature, or uncreated glory? 'Tis hard to suppose he takes it for *uncreated*, since 'twas neither essential, nor necessary to the *divine* nature, for he grants it might be put off: and he makes it a finite or limited thing, that may be confin'd to a place, and translated from one place to another. Sure

God cannot lay by any *uncreated* excellency; or can any *finite*, *visible*, *sensible* object be *uncreated*? If so, then to prove the Lord *Jesus* an *uncreated* being, would not prove him to be *infinite*, or of the nature of God, because something *not created* would be *finite* and *visible*. I will suppose then that there is no *uncreated* being but God; and that what is *visible*, *finite*, and *mutable*, is not God; and consequently that the Doctor will not suppose this limited *unconstant* glory to be *uncreated*.

Why then it must be a *creature-glory*; But was there any creature before the world was? nay, since he calls it *eternal* glory, will he assert an *eternal creature*? This will give up a stronger proof for Christ's *divinity*, than any the Bishop has given us, *viz.* from his *eternity*; for when his *eternity* is prov'd, what avails it in proof of his Deity, if there be *eternal creatures*?

2. I ask, Was this glory personally united to the *eternal Word*, or not? If not, it was none of his person. Then, as the Doctor argues against the *Nestorian union*, or the human person not united to the *Word*, it follows, that 'twas not *Jesus*, or the *eternal Word* that came down; not *Jesus* that ascended again where he was before, but another being, a creature: and then his own conclusion is, *the foundation of our hope is lost*. For 'tis the Union of the two natures in one person, that he makes to be the only ground of ascribing to the *person* what belongs to *either nature*; as I could not ascribe to the *man*, what belongs to the body, if the body was not in personal union to the soul. So that this visible glory is no more the *eternal Word*, than the *Nestorian's* man is, if it be not in personal union with it.

But if it was personally united to the *Word*, then it follows, that the *eternal Word* was in personal

sonal union with a creature from eternity, and long before he was man; and that the Word was made *light* or glory before he was *made flesh*; and so there will be *two* personal unions and *three* natures in one person; two creatures, *viz.* visible glory, and flesh, and a divine nature. Who will not say that the Dean has far out-done the Bishop?

3. I ask, how, or upon what occasion should there be such a *visible eternal glory and manifestation*, when there were none to make this manifestation unto, and to see this visible glory? It was, I hope, no manifestation to God, or the divine nature; God knew his own essential glory without a manifestation, and the Dean will at least allow the *three* divine persons to know their own personal excellencies by a *mutual consciousness*: so that this visible glory seems of no use to them, and yet there were no others from eternity that the Dean tells us of, to see this visible glory, or to receive this manifestation; therefore there is no reason to suppose such an unnecessary thing.

4. How could Jesus Christ put off this visible glory for a time, so that he should not appear in it, as he did before the world was? Was this glory utterly extinguished and annihilated, or did it vanish and disperse into obscurity? This indeed will shew it to have been a created glory; but what ground is there to assert this, and to suppose a new one to be created when our Lord ascended? And how then was it *eternal*? or did it only move by *translation* from place to place? Then it will follow, that Jesus Christ had not *put it off*, nor emptied himself of the rich manifestation he had before the world was, because where-ever this visible Glory settled, it was manifest to as many as it had been formerly manifested.

to *before the world was*, that is, to the three divine persons: and if it could not be hid from these, then he made the same glorious appearance still that he had done from eternity, and so need not have said, Give me the *glory I had with thee*, but the *glory which I have now with thee*, and never parted with.

Or did it return to heaven again after such a transient appearance as at the transfiguration? If it returned, then Jesus Christ had as truly ascended before his death as he had ever descended, viz. by a translation of this *personal* glory; and if it dwelt on earth, being visible, it had been openly seen where he went, and it had not been his humiliation neither, but his riches and grandeur, to have so come down in pomp.

Nay, I doubt the Doctor must ascribe the like descent and humiliation to God the *Father*: for P. 230. he says, that *God translated his personal presence from heaven to earth, when he descended on the mount, and he remov'd it again; and that when he does so, he may be said to ascend and descend in respect of us*: and he makes this an illustration of the descent of the *eternal Word*.

Then we have, it seems, the *Father's* descent and ascent as well as the *Son's*: and if it was a leaving the *Father's throne* (in the Son) and a putting off his glory and riches, when he thus came down; then I doubt not we must account the like (in the Father) to be putting off his Glory too: and then there will be the *humiliation of God the Father* as great as of the Son, according to the Doctor's notion. And will not the like follow in relation to the Holy Spirit, that once descended in his visible glory on the day of *Pentecost*? And so after this rate all three will have come down and been humbled for us.

Acts 2.

What

What a poor scanty narrow Creed is the *Albanasian*, if it wants all these articles? If the Doctor had but the mending of it in the points of the *Trinity* and incarnation, according to his present *hypothesis*, what a noble spacious thing might he make of it?

I am seriously ashamed to see such raw notions from an ingenious *Dignitary* of the church, urged with so much positiveness and severe reflexions on others, not sparing his Reverend *Father*. This tempts one to use more freedom in the case than one might otherwise be disposed to.

And, after all, allowing this wild-fanciful *hypothesis* to be good, how has he mended the matter? Or, has he not run into the same faults in the main which he so hardly censures in the Bishop? He is for a *pre-existent creature too to come down from heaven for us*, as well as the Bishop; and the eternal *Word* no otherwise comes down, according to the Dean, than in the descent of the visible glory. And he says as little of a *personal union* of this pre-existent creature to the eternal *Word*, as the Bishop, nay much less; only the Bishop makes his pre-existent creature to be a *rational agent*: And if the Doctor's visible glory be but supposed rational (which would not render it less noble) then they come much to one and the same thing. At least, where was the need of all this fierceness and noise, where no more is done to set matters in a better light?

So that still it will be inquired, how will the Dean solve the *Arian's* objection abovesaid, without such or the like concessions as his Lordship saw a necessity of making? And tho the Dean says, 'tis by giving away the *principal* proofs of Christ's Divinity, and thinks he comes too near the *Arians*, &c. yet our question ought to be, not what opinions are *farthest* from the *Arians* and
Nesto-

Nestorians ? but what are *nearest* to the *truth*, and best explain the great love of the holy *Jesus* in the Gospel ? and whether the Doctor's notion of a bright appearance, or *visible Glory's* removing from one place to another, be such a mighty matter as to fill up the *emphasis* of such texts, he *became poor*, and emptied himself ? A prince may lay by his *robes*, and be never the poorer, or emptier ; if he don't lose withal some real authority, or some of his dominions, he endures no very grievous change by not always wearing his glittering crown.

In short, I don't find that the Doctor has added any clearness to the *Scripture-proofs* of our *Saviour's Godhead*, by his examination of the Bishop's discourse, but rather confounded the business of the incarnation, as if he was resolv'd upon that score at least to shake hands once with his brother Dr. *South* : for they *both*, by unintelligible explications, have expos'd the cause to the *Arians*, and made sport for infidels ; who, God knows, need no more stumbling-blocks in their way : and happy were it they would believe the *naked Gospel* of truth, without regarding the distracting explications of subtle doctors, who have more curiosity than solid judgment, and are not near so impartial in searching after *truths* themselves, as they are forward to cast the reproach of *error* upon others.



A
LETTER

To the Reverend

Dr. *WILLIS*,
Dean of LINCOLN;

BEING

Some Friendly Remarks on his Sermon
before the *Honourable House of Com-*
mons, November 5. 1705.

1705.

A
LETTER

To the Reverend

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A LETTER to the Reverend
Dr. WILLIS, Dean of
Lincoln, &c.

Reverend SIR,

THE great and just reputation you had gained for charity and good temper, by your late healing sermon before her Majesty, when you declared against *Judab's* vexing *Ephraim*, made it very unlikely that you should so soon be remark'd on for a deficiency in your principles of charity, in reference to persecution for matters of bare religion.

Yet whether thro' inadvertency, or otherwise, there is something in your late sermon before the honourable *House of Commons*, that seems to have an unpleasant aspect upon the principles of true *Christian* liberty; and the rather, because asserted before so many concerned in the *legislature*, where its influence may be most prejudicial, if not prevented.

I profess sincerely, I am an utter abhorrer of *Popery*, and *French* tyranny, and very much so, because of the *persecuting* principles and practices that are to be found under them: but I am a pa-
tron

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tron of *liberty*, at least an advocate for it, and would fain have *Protestant* churches pure from this frightful deformity of the *Romish*.

The fault I find with you, in short, is this, that when you come to justify the penal laws against the Papists, which you say are *many and severe*, you ground the justice of 'em (and that in the *first* place) upon their *idolatrous* worship, and the severity required by God against *idolaters* among the *Jews*. You had very good reasons, without this, by which to justify those laws, upon a *political* ground, which you mention afterwards, *viz.* as they are against the subjects of a *foreign* prince, who is our open and bitter enemy, and who are bent upon the utter extirpation of *Protestants*, where they can prevail: But you chuse to use an argument which insinuates, that the *legislators* of the nation did not go purely on a *political* ground, or on principles of self-preservation, in enacting such severe laws against them, but that they designed to afflict and vex them for their *religious worship* itself; which seems too much to confirm the justice of their complaints of our cruelty in persecuting them, which you pretend to silence.

I would entreat you to consider, whether these following remarks be not just.

I. *First*, I think you are not consistent with yourself in your former sermon; there you say *Judah* should not vex *Ephraim*, *i. e.* the Tribes that separated, *to go to their groves, or high places, and also to their calves*, for they went to *Dan* and *Bethel*. You tell us, that suppose *Ephraim* will not be reclaimed, yet there should not be *so much as any attempts towards persecution*. And now of a sudden, you tell us *Ephraim's idolatry* is unsufferable, and the exercise of religion ought

ought to be prohibited those, whom you compare to the idolatrous tribes, and this merely for their *idolatrous* worship. If this be true, then you ought to have said formerly, that *Judab* ought to vex *Ephraim* grievously. And why were those to be such happy days, when this union shou'd be between *Ephraim* and *Judab*, if it were best when violence and severity was practised? This is backward and forward, and there appears no happy union at least between the two sermons; I wish the former may obtain.

II. Secondly, You ground your argument on a weak bottom, when you justify the punishment of *Papists* with severe laws, by the precedents of severity under the *Jewish* dispensation.

1. You know God bore with that hard-hearted people in many things, and humoured their frowardness; nay, he directed them to some severities, which *Christianity* will not allow. A disciple of Christ may not act with the spirit of *Elias*: *Ye know not what spirit ye are of.* Here Luke 9. your own comment is, *You are now under a new* 55. *institution, which allows of no such fierce and cruel proceedings; my gospel is a gospel of peace; if men will not receive it, the greatest harm is to themselves, and you have more reason to pity, than to be angry with them.*

2. Shew me where the *Judicial* laws of the *Jews*, and that in particular of punishing idolaters, are enjoined any *Christian* state; or where else there is that *political* reason for punishing idolatry, as among them, who were a *Theocracy*, which by idolatry was subverted, as by *high-treason* against the ruler and constitution of that state. But there is no such influence on the state of *England*, from image-worship, or from the adoration of the host, &c.

3. The

3. The calves of *Dan* and *Bethel* might be taken away, without severe laws against the lives, liberties, or estates of the people. 'Twas a mere artifice of the rulers, to keep up that worship, that the subjects might not revolt, and unite again with the kingdom of *Judah*; hence 'tis so oft called the sin of *Jeroboam*, who made *Israel* to sin. So that the Kings of *Israel* were justly reprov'd for it, since they needed but have taken away the calves, and discountenanced the business, and no longer have made the people to sin, and the work had been done without violence; where only policy, not conscience, that I can find, was at the bottom, or rather it was kept up by authority.

4. Where any grievous severity was enacted by the *Jewish* laws against idolaters, as *Deut.* 13. it was against such as went off knowingly from the express letter of the law, and so did directly cast off the authority of God in that matter, by taking another object of their homage; not against any who differed only in the interpretation and sense of the law, which they still revered; as is the case of *Papists*, in relation to the worship of the *host*. And indeed the ten tribes, being so often warned of God concerning their idolatry, seem'd directly to oppose God in continuing that service. Now, there is a vast difference between these two cases, between opposing God's will directly, and mistaking or misunderstanding it.

The *Jewish* law then itself was not so severe as this, to punish any with sore afflictions, or temporal ruin, for a wrong worship, which arose thro' mere misunderstanding the Text. So that I see not how the examples of severity against idolaters under the law, can justify any persecution of those, who thro' ignorance do conscientiously

conscientiously dissent from each other about the sense of the rule, while both sides receive it (as they judge) rightly. Let Christians be no crueler than the *Jewish* law itself required that hard-hearted people to be towards idolaters, and there would not be the hundredth part of that persecution which there is among Christians : And 'tis a little strange, that our *Protestant* clemency and mercy shou'd not so much as *equal* that of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, which I doubt wou'd be found true upon your principle, that severities are to be used against the *Papists*, at least may be justify'd, on the pure score of their *mistaken idolatrous* worship.

5. I doubt this principle wou'd set the *Church* and *Dissenters* together by the ears. The *Dissenters* are many of 'em so rigid, to my knowledge, as to accuse the *Church of England* of *idolatry*, in kneeling before the bread and wine at the sacrament ; hence they would use your principle against you, were they able, and make severe laws against you, because they say your *idolatrous worship is dishonourable to God, and so not fit to be publicly suffered by any that believe it so to be*. They can, upon occasion, improve such an argument to such a purpose as persecution, as well as most men.

On the *other band*, if God's reproof of the kings of *Israel* for not taking away the idolatry of the *calves*, will justify severity against Christian idolaters, tho' thro' ignorance and mistake they are such ; then I doubt his reproof of the kings of *Judah*, for not *taking away the high* ^{2 Chron. 20. 33.} *places*, (where some went to worship the true God, against the rule or constitution of the *Jewish* Church, which required sacrifices to be only at *Jerusalem's* temple) will also justify our severity against such as do but equal this fault ;

Remarks on Dr. Willis's Sermon

and where shall persecution stop at this rate? Once open the sluice to give a little entrance to the *waters of strife*, and the inundation will soon be universal; either let all sides persecute, or no side, for matters of mere religion.

III. *Thirdly*, I doubt, that upon this principle you will justify and harden the *Papists* in their persecution of *Protestants*. You are pleased to say, *that tho your principle will justify you to prohibit the exercise of their religion, yet the Papists cannot so much as pretend reason to prohibit you the exercise of yours on that ground.* But do you think to escape so? Will not your argument, from God's requiring the *Jews* to suppress *idolatry*, give the *Papists* as fair an handle to persecute *Protestants*, if not for *idolatry*, yet for something else?

You know that by the *Jewish* law the *blasphemer*, as well as *idolater*, was to be stoned; and cannot the *Papists* pretend reason to murder *Protestants* on this ground, when once they have convicted you of *blasphemy* against *Jesus Christ*, in calling him *a poor wafer*, and treating his *real* body (as say they, who will be judges in the case) with contempt? And have they not the same argument to offer, as you offer for persecuting them as *idolaters*, in conformity to the spirit of the *Law*? Tho as I have said, all persecution of well-meaning *Christians* is greater barbarity than that very law required, or warranted the cruel *Jews* themselves to exercise.

Will not your contempt of the images of God and Christ, &c. be interpreted a *blasphemous* contempt of God in effigy? And then try if you can protect yourself against the argument you urge from the duty of the kings of *Israel* in the case; And I see not but the *French* king
acts

acts every whit as rationally in his persecution of *Protestants* for being such, as *Protestants* in persecuting *Papists* upon the account of mere religion, according to your argument.

And thus you have laid a ground (tho I confess 'tis not new) for persecution to go round the world; which is profitable for none that I know of, but the *Hangman* and the *Jailor*, who are always on the orthodox side, and infallible judges of controversy, tho the *Pope* has as good a pretence for it as they.

I beseech you, Sir, reflect and judge, if you have done justice to the meek and calm religion of the holy and harmless *Jesus*, which aims at the hurt of no man, especially not at the ruin of him, who observes it the best he can, tho he shou'd mistake.

Consider, whether you have done justice to the *legislators* of our land, in making 'em to act upon so dangerous a foundation; and whether if you had omitted your *first reason* for our severe laws against the *Papists*, you had not done more honour to her majesty, to the nobility, and commons of the land, by making a more evident distinction between their proceedings against the *treacherous Papists* here, and the *French king's* proceedings against the *loyal Protestants* of his own kingdom. So you had silenced the objections, you mention, from the *Papists*; and so you had left the principles of christian liberty on a firm *basis*, which I doubt are greatly narrowed by your assertions; and thus you had better agreed with yourself, and had given less encouragement for *Ephraim to envy Judah, or Judah to vex Ephraim*.

To conclude, tho some may, to cast an *odium* upon this attempt, call me herein a friend to

Popery, yet I declare solemnly, that I wish it were utterly extinguished in the world, but not by violence and persecution, *not by sword nor bow, but by the spirit of the Lord*, by sober rational and christian methods; else 'tis better the *tares* shou'd be suffered to grow up with the *wheat* till the harvest, than that by plucking up the *tares*, the *wheat* shou'd in its turn be hurt too. *Lupus persequitur oves, non ovis lupum.* Chrysoft.

I am, SIR,

Your very humble servant.



THE
Previous QUESTION

TO THE
Several Questions about Valid and
Invalid BAPTISM, LAY-BAPTISM,
&c. consider'd.

V I Z.

*Whether there be any Necessity (upon the
Principles of Mr. Wall's History of Infant-
Baptism) for the continual Use of Baptism among
the Posterity of baptiz'd Christians ?*

Rom. II. 16. *If the Root be Holy, so are the Branches.*

—It fully appears, that Water-Baptism was never intended by God, but either only, or chiefly, for an Introductory or Planting Ordinance, i. e. to attend the Gospel for a time at its first Reception by a People, until it should get some Rooting among 'em, not for a standing Ordinance in one and the same place ; whereof good reason might be given, &c. says Mr. John Goodwin. Water-Dipping no Footing for Church Communion, p. 30.

1710.

C c 3

S E C T. I.

The use of Baptism among the Jews, urged in proof of Infant-Baptism among Christians. Page 392

S E C T. II.

From hence it will equally follow, that only such children as are born of unbelieving parents, need to be baptized. 398

S E C T. III.

In fact there don't appear any early instances of any, (infants or adult) who being born of Christian parents were baptized. 408

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P O S T S C R I P T.]

Infant-baptism, how far according to the Apostolical Constitutions, &c. 423

A Letter of the Author in answer to some objections proposed to him on this head. 426



Quære, *Whether* Christian Baptism *was intended by our Lord Jesus Christ, for such as descend from Christian Parents, and are born in the Church; Or only for such as become Profelytes to Christianity from an Infidel State?*

I AM sensible it will be look'd on as a great presumption, to call in question a practice that has so long and so generally obtain'd among Christian Churches, as has the practice of baptizing the posterity of Christians, whether in their infant or adult estate; and upon which so many rest their confidence, as on a most glorious privilege, and mighty means of their salvation: but as I am one who admit no plea of prescription against truth, so shall I judge it a sufficient defence against all such popular and weak arguments, if once it can be made appear, that *from the beginning it was not so practis'd, nor ordain'd.* And tho I do not *positively assert*, that according to the original institution of *Jesus Christ*, none

but such as came out of infidelity were to be baptiz'd, yet I profess I very much *question*, whether it were not so; and therefore desire a fair solution of the difficulties, which I apprehend are not duly consider'd by them who plead for the baptism of such as are born of and educated under christian parents.

SECT. I. The great ground of this my doubt arises from that fundamental proof of *infant-baptism*, taken from the use of baptism among the *Jews*, by which *Profelytes* were wont to be initiated, as it is set forth in Mr. *Wall's history of baptism* (which has put me upon this essay) and many others before him.

'Tis well argu'd by the learned *Pædobaptists*, that our Saviour's command to baptize, being general, must in all reason be suppos'd to mean, that it should be done according to the *known common practice* of baptism (if there were any such practice) which his Disciples well understood, and had been acquainted with: Otherwise it had been most necessary for our Lord Jesus to have made such exceptions from the general method of practice, and given such new rules as his Disciples were to observe, and which they could not learn without some farther direction, than his general command to *go and baptize*; for our Saviour only bids them *go and baptize all nations*, &c. he adds not one word of limitation or special direction about the *subjects* of baptism*. So that if the *Jews* had been accusom'd (as Mr. *Wall* asserts,

Mat. 28.
19.

* Dr. *Gale* himself seems to reason after this manner with respect to *water-baptism* from the *known practice* of *John the Baptist*; for says he "When our Lord in a general and indeterminate manner commanded them barely to baptize such as they had taught, how could they possibly understand him to intend any thing else by baptizing, than what they knew *John had done*, and themselves by his former command in
" his

serts, and with very probable reason too) to disciple infidels, whether infants or adult, by baptizing them into their communion; there is no just doubt to be made, but that our Lord, speaking among *Jews*, and bidding them *go and disciple all nations, baptizing them*; did leave them to understand it of their practising it under the *like rules*, and upon the *like subjects*, as was usual among the *Jews* already. 'Twas indeed to be a baptism into *another religion*, and to be extended to *all nations*; but no other exception was made from the known rules of baptism: and therefore Mr. *Wall*, in his *introduction*, has upon this very principle built his argument, and very strongly infers, that infants are the due subjects of *Christian baptism*, because they were so of the *Jewish*.

Vitring.
observat.
sacr. lib. 2.
cap. 6.

Nor can I see any room left for a modest and ingenuous denial of the *inference*, supposing the *premises* to be true, viz. That baptism of proselytes and their *infant-children* was an usual and known practice among the *Jews* in our Saviour's days on earth. I must confess, I cannot see any argument for *infant-baptism* so forcible as this, taken from the practice of baptizing *Jewish Proselytes*; nor does Mr. *Wall* seem to me to rely on any other without this. How Mr. *Wall* can reconcile infant-baptism to the method and office for baptism, prescrib'd by the Church of *England*, is *another* question; by which the child is suppos'd to be a believer, and by its

sureties

" his life-time had done likewise? It can't be reasonably intended but they would go on to administer that external water-baptism *they had before been used to*, and there is not the least intimation, that they had any particular instructions to the contrary, which yet had been absolutely necessary, if they had been to vary from *their former practice*; and accordingly we see that the *form* of administration, which is *wholly new*, is distinctly set down." Why should not this manner of arguing hold with regard to the *subjects* of baptism, if there were any *known common usage*, which there is no intimation that they were instructed to vary from?

sureties does profess, *I believe*, and *I desire to be baptized*; which an infant not grown up to understanding will not easily be suppos'd capable of, so that it seems tacitly to be intended only for *actual* believers: and by this one concession, great advantage is afforded, and some think the cause is in effect given up to the *Antipædobaptists*, who plead only for *believer's* baptism. But this is only an argument *ad hominem*, or against the church, and weakens not the cause of *infant-baptism* in general, which is so well establish'd upon his main topic, *viz.* the antient *Jewish* practice of baptizing *infant-profelytes*; and which, I suppose, Mr. *Wall* is more concern'd to defend, than the office of a particular church, tho ever so well constituted.

I know the *Antipædobaptists* do not admit the evidence to this practice of *Jewish baptism* in our Saviour's time; but I think impartially, that Mr. *Wall*, after others, has made it highly *probable* at least, from very many testimonies of the *Jewish* Writers, who, by what I can find, without any one dissenting voice allow the fact. And tho the testimonies be from *Jews* since Christ's time (we not having any of their more antient writings, except the sacred) yet since they who best knew their own traditions, that were current among them, and especially of a visible open matter of fact, as this of baptism was, and from whom only one can hope to understand their own history of facts, not recorded expressly in Scripture; since they, I say, do unanimously agree in this matter of fact, I take it to be a testimony of very great force, and not to be slighted by such as cannot say half a quarter so much, indeed can say nothing at all, for proof of the negative. The pretence of *Rabbi Eliezar's* denying any such custom among the *Jews*, taken from Sir *Norton Knatchbul*, is sufficiently expos'd at the end of Mr. *Wall's* introduction; being in truth no denial of such a practice at all. And

And indeed, besides the mention of a *Jewish baptism*, by some of the antient Christian writers, to which they oppose the Christian baptism, 'tis hard to be deny'd, that there is a broad intimation, even in the Gospel itself, of such a known practice among the *Jews* in *John the Baptist's* time, in that question of the *Pharisees*, *Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not the Christ, nor Elias, nor a Prophet?* They wonder'd not at proselyting by baptism; for they ask'd not, *what meanest thou* by this action? as they had probably done, had it been a novel and strange ceremony; but only they demand *by what authority* John 1. 25. he thus made *Proselytes*, i. e. among the *Jews*, who were already of the true church and faith; and therefore without some new dispensation (for establishing whereof there needed at least some great Prophet) he could have no authority to *baptize* or *proselyte* among the *Jews* *. They speak as if they knew such baptism to be of that great importance, that none but one authoriz'd to introduce a new state of religion might authorize this practice of it. How come they to esteem it of so much more signification than other ceremonies, which they scrupled not to admit upon less authority than of a great Prophet? I suppose 'twas because they had been accusom'd to such a solemn use of it, as that of *proselyting* persons to the true Religion.

I own this is not expressly nor demonstratively to

* The emphasis is not on the word *baptize*, but on the word *thou*, as appears from the following words, *if thou be not &c.* his being *Christ* or *Elias* or a Prophet would not have explain'd the nature or meaning of baptism, if it had been a *novel* rite, but it would have been a good ground or authority for his administering a rite, which was *customarily* used in making converts or disciples. Thus *Ainsworth* understands this text; see his note on Gen. 17. 12. They made question, *says he*, of his *person* that did it, but not of the *thing* it self.

to be shewn from the text; but I see no sense of it so fair and natural as this. And therefore taking this only for a strong presumption, added to the former testimonies, for the antient practice of baptism among the *Jews*, I think that all taken together, ties the argument so hard, that the *Antipædobaptists* cannot solve it, nor offer half so many probabilities either from reason or testimonies, against this *matter of fact*, as are brought for it; I mean for the use of *baptizing Proselytes* into the *Jewish* religion: since they can neither find *one* antient *Jewish* writer who *denies* this custom, while so *many* affirm it, nor one of them, who own the use of *proselyte-baptism* at all, that ever denies it to have extended to *infants*, as well as to others.

Especially are these testimonies of the *Jewish* writers of greater weight, because this very practice, which they report to have been of so antient a date, did still remain among them: for I must confess, that if it had not been of that antiquity which it pretends to, *viz. before Christ's time*; I cannot suppose it would ever have become a custom among the *Jews* afterward. Would they begin to proselyte persons to their religion by baptism in imitation of the Disciples of *Jesus of Nazareth*, whom they held accursed? They would never so far own him, as to bring in a new institution in conformity to his command; which innovation among them could not but be taken great notice of, and 'tis likely would have been observ'd and remark'd by some writer, *Jewish* or *Christian*. 'Tis of no force to say, that the latter *Jews* might pretend baptism to have been an old practice among their nation on purpose that the *Christian Religion* might be thought to borrow from theirs; since this was never deny'd by the *Christian Church*. We know that *Christians* are but *engrafted into*

their Olive-Tree, of which, they were the natural branches; and that we are built on the *foundation of their Prophets*; that Christ instituted his supper after the manner of the *Postcænum* at the paschal supper of the *Jews*, and borrow'd many customs from that church. Christians suffer nothing by owning this, nor was there any contention about it to prompt the *Jews* to forge an evidence in the case. So that if this *proselyte-baptism* were taken up by them since Christ's time, it must have been a mere innovation in imitation of Christians; which whether that be most likely, I leave any one to judge. For my own part, I am much more ready to believe their own testimonies to the antiquity of that practice, as being antecedent to Christ's institution of baptism, as their paschal *Postcænum* was to his other institution of the *Lord's supper* *.

But

* Whoever is minded to inquire into this matter may consult *Maimonides* in *Mishn. tom. 2. Isure bia. cap. 1. & cap. 13. Selden de jure naturali &c. lib. 2. cap. 2. Altingius de proselytis dissert. 7. §. 46. Vitring. Archisynagogus, cap. 18. Carcellæi Institut. l. 5. cap. 2. §. 7. Ainsworth on Gen. 17. 12. and Lightfoot ad Matth. 3. 6. It is indeed surprising that the *Antipædobaptists* should dispute an usage so universally attested to the satisfaction of almost every body but themselves. Nor is it at all an incredible unlikely thing, that the *Jews* should make use of this ceremony of washing [or baptizing] when any were converted from a state of idolatry, which they look'd on as defiled and *unclean*, to be of the number of the *holy* people of God, since it appears from many places in their law, that this was the constant method injoin'd for purifying from political uncleanness, see *Levit. 15.* almost throughout, and *Levit. 17. 15. And every soul, that eateth that which died of itself, shall both wash his clothes, and bath himself in water, and be unclean until the even; then shall he be clean.* If we may believe *Limborch. Theol. lib. 5. cap. 67.* this custom prevail'd not only among the *Jews* but among the *Heathens* also, so that when any were initiated among them, their whole bodies were *washed* in water; as being a very fit and natural emblem or outward type of inward purity; nay before the *Mosaic* law I find the Patriarch *Jacob* making use*

SECT. II.

But then, if these premises be true, and the inference for *Pædobaptism* be just, both which Mr. Wall strenuously maintains, I cannot see but another inference will be equally just, tho not so grateful to Mr. Wall, viz. That then none of the posterity of Christians descended from baptiz'd parents or ancestors, in a continu'd Christian line, not interrupted by open apostasy from Christianity, are bound by Christ's institution to be baptiz'd. And so both *Pædo-* and *Antipædobaptists* will be in great measure silenc'd at one blow.

To

use of this custom for the like purpose Gen. 35. v. 2. when he was to appear before God in *Bethel* he said unto his household and to all that were with him, *Put away the strange Gods that are among you, and cleanse [or purify] yourselves, and change your garments, which cleansing or purifying, says Ainsworth on the place, was by washing in water; from hence, says he, the Hebrew Doctors gather that idols do pollute and defile. Further, washing was enjoined by God as a method of sanctification or relative holiness Exod. 19. v. 10. And the Lord said unto Moses, Go unto the people and sanctify them to day, and to morrow, and let them wash their clothes, that is, says Ainsworth, inwardly by faith and outwardly by washing their garments and bodies. See Lev. 8. v. 6. & 30. where at the consecration of Aaron and his Sons, Moses is said to have washed them with water, anointed them with oil, and sanctified them. To this use of washing St. Paul alludes 1 Cor. 6. 11. And such [idolaters, adulterers &c.] were some of you, but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified.*

Let it not be thought to make any difference, that in these places the word is *washed* and not *baptized*, for it may be easily shewn that the words *baptized*, *washed*, *purified*, are used promiscuously; I mean that the word *baptized* is often used for washing, and the word *washing* or *purifying* is often descriptive of and allusive to profelyte or initiatory baptism: Of the former sort is that in *Mark 7. v. 4. And when they [the Pharisees] come from the market, except they wash, they eat not*, the word is βαπτίζωσις, except they be baptized.

Again, *the washings of cups*, the word is βαπτισμός, the baptisms of cups; the like v. 8. and *Luke 11. v. 38. The Pharisees marvelled, that he had not first washed before dinner* ἢ βαπτίσαν, that he was not first baptized: in all which places baptizing denotes washing, and is of the same import with ἰνίσκωσις the word used *Mark 7. 2, 3, 6,*

Of

To make this appear, we must consider that Mr. Wall's and the *Pædobaptists* argument hence for *infant-baptism*, has no force but upon this ground alone, viz. that our Lord Jesus giving his command to baptize in general, without any *caveat* or limitation, did leave his Apostles to apply baptism to *all the same* subjects as the *Jews* were wont to do; and therefore to *infants* as well as to others. And it will be said, that for the same reason the Christian baptism was to have

no

Of the latter sort is *John*. 3. 25. Then there arose a question between some of *John's* Disciples and the *Jews* about *purifying* *περί καθάρισμιν*, which by the context appears plainly to be about *baptism*; for it was said just before that *John* was *baptizing*, and they came and were *baptized*. And *Acts* 22. 16. Be baptized and *wash* away thy sins. *Ephes* 5. 26. Christ also loved the Church and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the *washing* of water by the word, as in *Cor.* 6. 11. ye are *washed*, ye are sanctified. *Tit.* 3. 5. He saved us by the *washing* of regeneration. *Heb* 10. 22. Having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies *washed* with pure water; all which, tho the word *purifying* or *washing* be made use of, are manifest allusions to the initiatory rite of *baptism*, or at least to the custom of purifying by water from *political* uncleanness; but in whatever sense these words are used they every one of them always mean a cleansing from some defilement.

Now that idolatry was a state of uncleanness and defilement appears not only from the inference of the Hebrew Doctors abovementioned, but from various places of Scripture, *Levit.* 22. 25. where the Lord spake unto *Moses*, directing what kind of oblations should be offered to him, viz. a male of the beeves, of the sheep, or of the goats, he expressly directs that they should be without blemish, *but from a stranger's* [an Heathen's] *hand ye shall not offer any of these, because their* *ἀλλογενή* *corruption in them is a blemish in them; they shall not be ac-* *νῆς. Sept.* *cepted for you*, importing that the infidelity of the Heathens is their corruption and a blemish on their sacrifices. See *Ainsw.* on the place; but more expressly in *Ezek.* 20. 7. & 31. 22. 4. 23. 7. where they are said to *defile*, and to *pollute* themselves with *Idols*.

Since then idolaters were looked on by the *Jews* as *defiled* and polluted, and *washing* [or baptizing] was their usual method, and in many cases directly prescribed by their law for cleansing from such defilement, it is very natural to think, that they did

not

no other subjects than the Jewish baptism had, which was never apply'd to any of the offspring of believers, born in the Church. For Mr. Wall has fully prov'd, by the same authority which evidences their custom to baptize *infant-Profelytes*, that the Jews never did baptize any that were born of parents, who were profelyted before; and that it was a maxim among them, *Filius baptizati habetur pro baptizato*; i. e. *the child born of one baptiz'd is accounted as one baptiz'd himself*. It seems

not omit it on such an occasion as that of receiving converts from an *infidel* state into the Jewish church; I cannot therefore see any just grounds for discrediting the unanimous testimonies of the Jewish writers, who assert this to have been their ancient practice.

The question of the Pharisees to John the Baptist, *Why baptizest thou? not what is the meaning of this ceremony?* evidently favours the supposal of such a custom, as our Author has shown; and our Saviour's reply to Nicodemus, who wondered at the saying, except a man be *born again of water* and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God, *Art thou a master* [a teacher] *in Israel, and knowest not these things?* is a manifest allusion to the custom of initiating Profelytes by *water-washing* or baptizing, who after being so *washed* or baptized were esteem'd regenerated or *born again*, and therefore to a ruler in Israel, who could not but be acquainted with these things, our Saviour's discourse ought not to have appear'd so unintelligible.

διδάσκα-
λος.

To make this still more apparent I shall produce two other testimonies, the one from an *Heathen* the other from a *Christian* writer; the first is *Arrian. in Epictet. lib. 2. cap. 9.* where *Epictetus* is thus introduced inveighing against those, who pretended to be philosophers, but did not act up to that character: "Why, says he, dost thou call thy self a *Stoic*, and deceivest the people? Why dost thou pretend to be a *Greek*, when thou art a *Jew*? Dost not thou then perceive in what manner every one is called a *Jew*, a *Syrian*, or an *Egyptian*? When we see any one acting a double part, we are wont to say, he is not a *Jew*, but only dissembles; but after he has put on the affection of a *baptized* person, who has chosen his sect or religion, then he truly is, as well as is called, a *Jew*: So we, like to such in vain baptized persons, *Jews* indeed in word, but in actions somewhat else, are void of those affections which correspond to our words."

βεβαμ-
μένω

παρα-
βαπτισ-
ται.

This Author wrote about the year 104, at which time the Christians were sufficiently known, not to be confounded with the Jews,

seems that the *one sanctification* of the parents was to them and their issue, unless they cut off the entail by their apostacy to infidelity.

So that if our Lord left his Disciples to practise according to the *known establish'd rules of the Jews*, it follows, that he no more allow'd them hereby to add any new subjects of baptism, viz. such as the offspring of believers, than to bar any of the former allow'd subjects of it, i. e. the Infant-Profelytes born in the uncleanness of infidelity. If Mr. *Wall's* argument be good, it leaves the case, as to the subjects of baptism, just as it was before; since there is no more warrant from Christ's institution to add, than to diminish; or to baptize born members of the Church, than to cut off the infants of new Profelytes.

Nay, if we consider well Christ's commission to baptize, it seems directly to respect only the Profelytes from infidelity: *Go disciple* (i. e. *Profelyte*, says Mr. *Wall*) *all nations, baptizing them.*

VOL. I. D d 'Twas Mat. 28.

especially not by this Author, who lib. 4. cap. 7. describes the Christians by another name, viz. *Galileans*.

The next is *Origen*, who, in his comment on the epistle to the *Romans*, cap. 6. has these words, "The Apostle never says, we are baptized together with Christ; whereas it should seem that as our death is compared to his death, and our life to his life, so our baptism should be compared to his baptism; but mark with what caution the Apostle speaks, he calls our baptism a baptism in Jesus Christ; but Christ himself is said to be baptized by *John*, not with that baptism, which is in Christ, but with that which is *in the law*," implying that under the law there was such a custom of baptizing. It may not be impertinent here to observe that *Epiphanius*, in his book against Heresies, lib. 1. tom. cap. 17. takes notice that among the *Jewish* Heretics before Christ's coming in the flesh, there was one sort who were called *Hemero-baptists* from their being daily baptized, which they thought every man ought to be, *ut ablutur & sanctificetur ab omni culpa*, that he may be washed and sanctified from all sin: this, says he, is practised *non corporis ablutionis gratia, sed propter peccata*, not for the sake of washing their bodies, but because of their sins.

'Twas upon their going to convert the unbelieving *Gentiles*, that they were empower'd to baptize them; so that where there is no more *prose-lyting*, there may seem to be no more *baptizing* intended. And as none, I think, can pretend that the *Jews* by nature were accounted *Prose-lytes* among the *Jews*; so neither can such as are born and educated in the *Christian* church, and of *Christian* parents, be counted *Christian* *prose-lytes*. How then come the posterity of *prose-lytes* to be the subjects of baptism now, among us *Christians*, if they were not so among the *Jews*; when at the same time the custom and practice of the *Jews* is own'd to be the rule of Christ for the practice of baptism among *Christians*?

So that Mr. *Wall* must either allow, that baptism may cease among *Christian* churches, where no converts from infidelity come in, and so yield the cause to the *Socinians*; or if he still plead for the baptizing the *offspring* of *Christians*, he must own that he goes quite off from his own principles, and can never justify it by the *Jewish* practice of *baptism*; and so gives up his fundamental argument for *infant-baptism*, after he had taken pains to establish it. And to what purpose does he call the *Antipædobaptists* to observe Christ's institution, interpreted by the known *Jewish* practice, when he himself is no more guided by it than they? It will be expected that he either reconcile his practice of baptizing *Christians* holy posterity to the *Jewish* rule of not baptizing the Children born of *prose-lytes*; or that he renounce his opinion, viz. That Christ's command is to be practis'd according to their known rule, when he says, *Go and baptize*. And if he do this, he will have a hard Task to answer his own arguments to the contrary.

The sum of what I justly gather from Mr. Wall's argument, is this; Jesus Christ has required his disciples to *profelyte* and *baptize the nations*: Now 'tis known how the *Jews* must needs understand such a precept, viz. according to their own usage, which was to baptize profelytes and their children born in infidelity, but not any descended from them: and therefore let us go and do likewise.

And this seems to be built on good reason, from the nature and design of baptism; which seems not to be intended for the washing away the pollutions contracted in a state of *Christianity**, for then 'twere useful to repeat it often upon *Christians*; but only the uncleanness of *infidelity*, when men were *Aliens* to the *Christian* church. They who came of a *polluted* stock, and enemies to the church of God, had reason to be symbolically *purify'd* by baptism, because they were held for profane and unclean, till *naturaliz'd* and engrafted into the holy church. But being thus *naturaliz'd*, it seems to be for them and their posterity all at once. Their descendents are a holy race of course; for, says the Apostle, *If the root be* Rom. 11. *holy, the branches are also holy*: there needs no 16. new engrafting of the *natural* branches. Washing is not appointed for the pure and clean, but for the unclean: now the text says expressly, that the children of Christian parents *are not unclean*, 1 Cor. 7. *but they are holy, or pure; i. e. by being come* 14. D d 2 of

* All professed Christians were in this respect *clean and holy*, and are therefore styled by St. Paul, *sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be Saints*, 1 Cor. 1. 2. which Mr. Locke in his note on the place plainly shows, does not mean such whose lives were actually pure and holy, for many of them were otherwise, but signifies *separate from the common state of mankind to be the People of God*, i. e. relatively holy. See 1 Pet. 2. 9, 10.

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of cleansed holy parents. It seems they are accounted as already *baptized*, or cleansed in their parents baptism; just agreeable to the *Jewish* maxim abovesaid. 'Tis a strange inference of some, that children must be baptiz'd, because they are said to be *holy* or clean, when the end of baptism is to cleanse or make *holy*; and if the Apostle says they have that effect already by being of Christian parents, what need of baptism can be prov'd, where the person is already politically and relatively *holy*, and has all the real cleansing and holiness, that is to be supposed to be wrought by such external rites of purification?

1 Cor. 7.
14.

As I take the *Antipædobaptists* interpretation of the last-mentioned text to be too forced, who think by *being holy* is meant *being legitimate*; whereas none are ever said in Scripture to be ἅγιοι, *saints* or *holy*, merely for being not bastards: so I judge Mr. *Wall's* sense to be no less violent, and as like a shift to serve a turn as the other. He understands it of a holiness by being baptiz'd, as if the Apostle had said, *else were your Children unbaptiz'd, but now they are sanctified by baptism*. But how can this be a consequence of the foregoing part of the text? *The unbelievieng Wife has been sanctify'd*, (i. e. has been baptrized, as Mr. *Wall* expounds it) *by the husband, else were our children unclean*, (i. e. would be kept unbaptiz'd) *but now are they holy*, or saints, i. e. *they are generally baptiz'd*, and so become holy. See his *Hist. of Inf. Bapt.* p. 68. I say 'tis no just consequence which he makes the Apostle to draw; nor would it follow, that if the husband do not prevail upon the unbelieving wife to be converted and baptiz'd, that then the children would be unbaptiz'd; because, tho only the father were a believer, the child might be brought to baptism, if nothing else hinder: and so in this sense the children would
not

not be unclean, tho the unbelieving wife were never baptiz'd. So that this is not to be taken for the Apostle's meaning.

And therefore Mr. *Locke's* paraphrase, which Mr. *Wall* calls absurd without shewing why, may yet stand; viz. that by being *holy*, is meant that such children are not in the state of *Heathens*, but *born members of the Christian church*; not profane *Aliens*, but *pure and natural* branches of the commonwealth of the Christian *Israel*. Which seems to be all the holiness which *Jerom* judg'd them capable of, when speaking of this argument, and allowing a relative holiness, such as belong'd to the vessels of the tabernacle, he adds, that nothing can be properly *holy*, but *what has sense, and fears God*. 'Tis not then want of baptism, but want of sense and capacity, that hinders their being real Saints: and relatively they are such antecedently to any baptism. Nay, they are really Saints in design; or, to use *Tertulian's* words, *Sanctitati designati*, *designed for real holiness*: by the advantage of their birth, and in the intention of their parents, and the prospect of a Christian education, they are the expectants or the hopeful candidates of real piety, whether baptiz'd a-new or not, as far as yet appears.

It still strengthens the presumption on this side, that in all the history of the Apostles and churches in the *Acts of the Apostles*, we find not one Instance of the baptizing of any, that were born of Christian parents, either infants or adult. The *Antipædobaptists* demand an instance of any *infant* being baptiz'd, and the *Pædobaptists* ask for an instance of any *adult* person's baptism, who had been born of *Christian Parents*: but neither side can produce any evidence; no, not in all that first history of the churches, running thro'

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a series of near thirty years, in which time multitudes, no doubt, were born of Christian parents, and grown up to maturity and manhood; and yet *not one of them* is mentioned to be baptized; tho of many *profelytes* 'tis often observed. So that it looks at least doubtful, whether any born Christians, or the seed of profelytes were baptiz'd, any more than the seed of the *Jewish* profelytes were. Nay, since the baptizing the holy seed of profelytes was beyond the known rule and custom of the *Jews*, in their use of baptism, 'twas the more necessary to have been taken notice of in that *history of the Acts*, if the Apostles so practis'd; because it does not at all appear in Christ's institution, that he intended such a variation from the common rules of the known *Jewish* practice, and therefore it requir'd to be made plain by the history of the Apostles after-practice. For if neither the *original institution* of Christ, nor the *after-practice* of the Apostles, do warrant this considerable alteration in the practice of baptism, I cannot see how it should be known, or from whence Christians should be able to infer it to be a duty.

So that upon the whole matter it must be own'd, that Mr. *Wall* from the custom and practice of the *Jews* has indeed urged a very strong argument against the *Antipædobaptists*, and shews well, that infants along with their profelyted parents are to be entered into the Christian society by baptism. But then 'tis just as strong an argument against himself, and all those who are for continuing baptism among the posterity of Christians. His argument establishes infant-baptism; but then 'tis of no infants, nor others, but who were born in infidelity, or of parents not Christian.

And

And therefore whatever weight he supposes our Lord to have laid upon baptism in that text, *John 3. 5.* it can only relate to such as are converted from infidelity; nor could *Nicodemus*, as a master in *Israel*, be supposed to have understood him otherwise; since with the *Jews* only such were subjects of baptism.

And now when there is so much appearance of force in this argument, against the necessity of repeating baptism to the posterity of Christians, that an honest mind may well be supposed to be convinced and determin'd by it, one would wonder what occasion *Mr. Wall* had for that poor, *invidious*, and, I believe, *false suggestion*: 'Tis easy, says he, to guess what sway'd *Socinus* into the other opinion, viz. his desire of abolishing the doctrine of the Trinity; which 'twas hard to accomplish, so long as persons were continually baptiz'd into that faith: As if *Socinus* was against that Trinity, which he judg'd the Christian baptism to relate to; or would have that doctrine abolish'd, which he understood baptism to countenance. For 'tis certain he never imagin'd, that baptism in the name of one, to whom *all power was given*, could be a reasonable proof of that person's supreme Deity. So that 'tis much more likely he was sway'd by the pure force of the argument here insisted on, without the need of any other prejudice. But 'tis hard to guess what sway'd *Mr. Wall* to such a mean suggestion; whether his great prejudice so oft vented against the *Socinians*, or his willingness to make his reader slip over the true reason of *Socinus's* being of that opinion. For it is a pretty crafty way of some writers, when they find their adversaries produce a strong argument to support their opinion; instead of answering it fairly, they fall a guessing what else may

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p. 54.

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bias them, and insinuate some slender or odious secret Reason, when they have given an open and more likely reason for themselves; which their opposers find so troublesome, that they had much rather start some new imaginary reasons for them, which they think they can better deal with. But Mr. *Wall* will be above this method, who has observ'd (which, on this occasion, comes to mind) that a *great stock of learning does not always cure that narrowness of soul, by which some are inclined to do any mean and foul thing to favour a side, or set up a party*; which is the heavy load he lays so unmercifully upon the illustrious *Grotius*, upon no sufficient occasion, I judge, if the matter alledged were truly stated and consider'd.

SECT. III.

p. 285.

I know not how early instances Mr. *Wall* or any other can give of the baptism of children; or the *Antipædobaptists* of the baptism of any adult persons that were born in Christianity. He has shown that all the ancient instances, which the *Antipædobaptists* bring of adult persons being baptized, are of persons most probably born of unprofelyted or infidel parents; and that there is but one Instance (and this very obscure and modern) to the contrary, viz. in *Greg. Nazianen*, which is too late to be valued in an inquiry after the original practice of Christians, being so late as the *fourth century*. Now if Mr. *Wall*, on the other hand, cannot find any instances of children of baptized parents, who were baptiz'd in their infancy, in early antiquity (as I think he has not pretended to do for the two first centuries) I think it follows hence, that there are no instances to be found either on one side or the other; i. e. neither of the baptism of any adult, nor of any infants

infants descended from baptized parents ; which is a great presumption that no such were baptized : however others, both infants and adult, might be so, viz. among new converts from infidelity.

Even *Tertullian* himself (tho a man of no great esteem by Mr. *Wall's* account) seems to me in the passage, cited by Mr. *Wall*, to make a difference Hist. p. 22. between the issue of *Christians* and of *Pagans*, as to the needfulness of baptism : He says, “ Scarce any birth is clean, viz. of the *Heathens* ; for hence [or on this principle] even the *Apostle* says, The off-¹ Cor. 7. spring of a sanctified parent by either side are ¹⁴ born holy, being so as well by the privilege of their descent, as by the discipline of instruction ; else, says he, they would be born unclean, yet still meaning, that the children of believers are designed for [actual] holiness, and thereby for salvation ; — otherwise [i. e. had their birth not been clean, he would not have styled them holy, for] he would have called to mind the Lord's decree, Except one be born of water and the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God, that is, he shall not be holy.”* So far *Tertullian* : the meaning of which is plainly this, One of an unclean birth shall not, unless born again of water, be what a Christian's offspring is by mere birth, viz. holy, or enter'd into the kingdom of God, the visible church of Christ. So that it seems Christ's rule for baptism was not judged by him to extend to other than *Heathens* profelysed, who had that uncleanness to be washed away, which the *Christian's* offspring had not.

And

* Adeo nulla fermè nativitas munda est, utique ethnicorum, Hinc enim & Apostolus, Ex sanctificato alterutro sexû sanctos procreari ait, tam ex seminis prærogativâ, quàm ex institutionis disciplinâ ; cæterum, inquit, immundi nascerentur ; quasi designatos tamen sanctitati, ac per hoc etiam saluti, intelligi volens fidelium filios, ut hujus spei pignore matrimonii, quæ retinenda censuerat, patrocinaretur : alioquin meminerat Dominice definitionis, Nisi quis nasceretur ex aquâ & spiritu, non ibit in regnum Dei, id est, non erit sanctus. *Tertul. De Animâ, cap. 39.*

And for the fancy, that by the *designatos sanctitati* is intended, that they were design'd for *baptism*, I see no ground for it at all; but rather that they were design'd for *holiness* without any *particular baptism*: whereas in *others* he supposes holiness to be the consequence of baptism by Christ's decree.

However, be his meaning what it will, as I build not on it, so I scarce think Mr. *Wall* will judge of the primitive practice by *Tertullian's* judgment or advice, which is not very favourable for early infant-baptism, or for appropriating the act to the *clergy*; especially in a business wherein he writes with such uncertainty and inconsistency, and was certainly in the wrong either in allowing the baptism of infants*, or in pleading for the delay of baptism to riper years by such arguments as he uses: so that he seems not to know fully what the practice of the church, or the duty of Christians was in that affair; or perhaps the practice was not settled then, but wavering and various.

The plainest and fullest evidence in antiquity which Mr. *Wall* brings for baptizing the children, even of Christian parents, is in St. *Cyprian's* time: But then there is as plain testimony from that author *de Lapsis*, that it was customary to give the *Eucharist* also to infants: and if this was an innovation and an error in the administration of the one sacrament, 'tis no wonder if there should be an error as to the application of the other also. Superstition began to spread apace; and who knows which began first, whether the communicating the infants of Christian parents, or the baptizing them? So that unless more early instances

* Which he does allow in cases of urgent necessity, altho otherwise he thinks there is no reason or occasion for doing it; and is therefore for deferring it, because it would bring the godfathers needlessly into danger. *Tertul. De Baptismo, c. 18.*

instances can be given of baptizing the offspring of profelyted parents, than of communicating infants (which *Austin* judged so antient as to account it an apostolical tradition) I don't see any better authority from antiquity for the one than for the other; and both may seem to stand on the same ground. The antient practice will then give us no more true light into the apostolical practice, as to baptism, than it will do as to the apostolical practice in the Eucharist; if the one was corrupted, why not the other? Both might possibly be applied beyond their due bounds, and extended to wrong subjects: when once men placed more virtue in these rituals, than was meet, no wonder if they were fond of applying 'em to more than was at first intended.

I know Mr. *Wall* takes some notice of the Ad-SECT. IV, vantage, which from his argument redounds to *Socinus's* opinion, viz. of the no-necessity of continuing baptism to Christian posterity; and seems to enter some *caveats* against the consequence I am drawing from his way of proving infant-baptism: but he is far from obviating or overthrowing this consequence by any thing that he has suggested. He endeavours to guard himself, by telling us,

Object. 1. That there never was any age (at Introduct. least since Abraham) in which the children that p. 55. were admitted into covenant, whether of Jews or Profelytes, had not some badge of such their Admission.

I answer, 1. If it was so before Abraham, this is enough to shew that 'tis not necessary always to be otherwise. Many things were used all along in the Church from Abraham's time, that are laid aside under the Gospel; and indeed the time since Abraham amounts to no more than just the Jewish dispensation that began in Abraham, and

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and was more completely establish'd under *Moses*.

2. No such badge of such admission was ever in any age necessary without a divine command; and therefore if there be no command for such admission by badge, there is no such reason for it as of old. But,

3. The matter of fact asserted by *Mr. Wall* is not true; for even since *Abraham's* time, yea and ever since that time, the female children of natural *Jews* and profelytes were admitted into the *Jewish* church, by virtue of their descent and birth, without any new badge requir'd in order to their admission: for that these females were wont to be admitted by sacrifice ever since *Abraham's* time, nay since *Moses's* time, *Mr. Wall* has confidently asserted, but cannot prove; nay, that in any age it was necessary for them to be admitted by that Ceremony, he cannot shew; nor did God ever require any such thing. If the *Jews* had lately introduc'd such a custom (which yet he has not made appear) 'tis not to be quoted for a *precedent*, or as an instance of the divine method with his church, when 'twas only an arbitrary human injunction at most. So I turn *Mr. Wall's* argument against him, and say, That if there never was any age, in which God did not admit divers persons into covenant, or into his church, without any visible badge of that admission in their own persons, then it will not be unsuitable to his former methods, if he so admit some under the Gospel-dispensation.

Object. 2. He says, *The male children of Jews and Profelytes were admitted by circumcision.*

Ans. 1. I allow it; but then it was because this was particularly required of them by God, and probably for some other reason (proper to their

their constitution) than admitting 'em into the church; since the females were admitted without it. Let such a divine ordinance be produc'd for baptizing the offspring of Christians, and it shall suffice with me, else there is no consequence in it. To say, that because the *Jews* circumcis'd the children of circumcis'd parents at God's command, therefore we must baptize the children of baptiz'd parents, tho contrary to what was practis'd by the *Jews*, is quite besides the meaning of Christ's command.

For, 2. I add, That the *Jews* practice of circumcision is not the Christians direction for the practice of baptism; because our Lord Jesus did not bid his Disciples to baptize as they were wont to circumcise among the *Jews*, but to baptize as they were wont to baptize, as Mr. *Wall* owns. Therefore 'tis no matter how circumcision was apply'd, but the question is how baptism was; and if baptism was wont to be practis'd in a different method, and on different subjects from what circumcision was, then 'tis plain our Christian baptism, which Christ meant to be regulated by the *Jewish* baptism, ought to be conformed to the known rules of baptism, and not to them of circumcision.

Nor can any pretend to urge *parity of reason* in the case, because it cannot be made appear that such circumcision of the infants of *Jews* was not *either* a mere arbitrary injunction of God, *or* else founded upon some particular reason, proper to the state of that people, who were to be kept separate from all other nations. In the latter case there will be no *parity of reason*, and in the former no reason at all from the nature of the thing, being God's sovereign pleasure, which is at liberty to vary. And as to the nature and intrinsic goodness of the

the thing, there seemed no excellency at all in such a badge, as *Justin Martyr* well observes of
 Dial. cum circumcisiōem; *In signum datam circumcisiōem,*
 Tryph. *non tanquam opus justitiæ, quidquid enim ad justiti-*
am virtutemque pertinent, etiam sœminis Deus
dedit, ut ex equo servare possint.

But adds *Mr. Wall*; *St. Paul* says, Baptism serves instead of circumcisiōem, calling it the circumcisiōem of *Christ*, *Col. 2. 11, 12.* But what then? I hope it does not follow that the subjects of baptism must be just the same as of circumcisiōem, because there may be some common use of both. They that were baptiz'd into *Christ*, as the *Colossian* Profelytes had been, were spiritually circumcis'd, and mortify'd to sin, as much as the *Jews* who were circumcis'd with hands: but this does not argue that all Christians must be baptiz'd, since as the one half of the *Jews* posterity were capable of this inward spiritual circumcisiōem, without the external circumcisiōem, and were in a sort held for circumcis'd or clean, by virtue of their descent from circumcis'd parents; even so may the posterity of Christians have this spiritual circumcisiōem, without any other baptism than that of their Christian parents, which in a sort may be held to be virtually the baptizing of their whole race and offspring. This intirely depends on the will of the lawgiver, which *Mr. Wall* has not made appear to be, that the seed of *Christian* profelytes should be baptiz'd, any more than the seed of *Jewish* profelytes were so.

Gen. 34.
14.

Object. 3. Perhaps it may be said, *Baptism* is necessary, even for such as are born in *Christianity*, to engage them more solemnly to dedicate themselves to God personally; and so give them a quicker sense of their duty and obligation, than they can be conceiv'd to have by such a general relation to

to God and Christ, as arises from their being come of Christian Parents :

I answer, 1. That if we must be directed in the use of baptism, by the advantages we imagine it may be made serviceable to, then it seems as necessary that we often repeat our baptism, to revive our obligation, after many years are past, and the fresh sense of that solemnity is worn off. So that this argument (unless the divine command makes a difference) has as much force in it for often renewing baptism on others, as for renewing it upon children, who have been already engag'd to God; and in some sort have been baptized in their parents baptism, and are born in covenant with him.

2. I judge one may have as lively a sense of his ancestors baptism, and their engagement for themselves and their issue, as for his own personal baptism in the incapacity of his infancy, of which he has no more remembrance than of the other, which is to him the same thing.

3. There are other sufficient ways to revive the sense of our duty to God, and of our religious bonds, viz. by the other religious duties of our profession, and in particular by the *Lord's Supper*.

It may be some will say, Suppose it be not SECT. V. certain that any but immediate converts are required to be baptized; yet what harm can there be in renewing it to their posterity, tho it may not be necessary?

1. I say, as to the harm of doing it, there will be no more nor less harm in baptizing the children of Christians, on a supposition that they be already sanctified in their parents baptism, than there is in rebaptizing persons once duly baptized, or re-ordaining ministers once duly ordained; 'tis only doing a thing with great solemnity

lemnity in God's name that is needless, and to no purpose, unless something else can make it requisite besides Christ's institution; as St. Paul, *Acts* 16. circumcised *Timothy* to avoid offence, not as necessary in itself.

2. If it be not necessary to be done, then I add, that tho' there should be no great harm in doing a thing not necessary, yet there may be great harm in not leaving others to their liberty, and in urging the necessity of such personal baptism in order to church-communion, if it be not commanded by Christ. All needless occasions of contention are hurtful; and therefore tho I would not measure my duty to God, nor interpret his holy command, merely in accommodation to any outward Interest, no not that of external quiet and rest from contentious divisions, at the expence of truth (since our Lord himself will have truth profess'd tho it prove an occasion of setting families at variance, *brother against brother, the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother*) yet if what I advance be consistent with truth, I shall like it the better for having a good tendency to promote peace, and taking away many occasions of unhappy strife among Christians, as I judge it will. For,

Mat. 10.
31.

This will ease us of many bitter controversies about baptism; as whether by *immersion* or *effusion*? Whether *infants* or *adult* persons are to be baptized in a christian church? whether by *Bishop* or *Presbyter*? since we are all generally descended from some or other ancestors, that no doubt have been regularly baptized: Nay this may probably prove *Quakers* to be of the Christian church still, tho not baptized themselves, while they are the seed of baptized parents, and still own Christianity, as they understand it. Nay

Nay this may give great ease to the Clergy, and particularly to Mr. Wall, who is very much P. 154
against the doctrine which involves the baptizer in endless scruples, which infants he may baptize, and which not; and therefore is for baptism of all children, the owners of which desire baptism for P. 381
them. But tho this be a compendious way of ending scruples as to the subjects of baptism, yet even still there are many scruples will meet him again at another turn on his principles. For,

If every Christian must have a particular baptism duly administred to himself, and may not be admitted to the *Eucharist* without such baptism, then 'tis incumbent on the administrator or presbyter to examine into the validity of the baptism of every communicant; as whether he ever was baptized, or not? By whom? Whether by a Catholic, or a Schismatic or Heretic? Whether by a Tritheist or a Socinian? Whether by one ordained aright, or an intruder? I confess I don't think these matters are inquired into, in order to communion either with the church or dissenters, except in some points by the *Antipædobaptists*, who often place their main zeal in this article; yet I must think these are needful questions concerning a communicant, if a true authentic baptism be necessary to Christian communion, and to salvation among Christians.

It would be hard to question Mr. Wall's great care in these matters, especially now there are, as he owns, so many Socinians in the church, and out of it; against whom he has eased his mind, by such a discharge of heavy and angry censures, without much argument; and declares against communion in worship with them, who believe *Jesus Christ to be in his best nature of finite dignity and capacity*, i. e. say the

Col. 1. 15. *Unitarians*, in other words, to be the *first-begotten of the creation*, or that *the Father is greater than he*, as *Christ* himself speaks. I say, no question but *Mr. Wall* takes care that he has no such communicants in his own parish, and I think he cannot admit any, of whom he is not rationally assured, that they were baptized by sound Catholics. This is not a matter to be loosely supposed in the general, if baptism be so necessary to salvation and to Christian communion, as he seems to suppose it to be.

SECT. VI. I do indeed agree with him, that if he and the *Unitarians*, *Arian*, or *Socinian*, do worship two different Gods, as he is inclinable to think, he cannot be too wary in admitting 'em. I cannot see, says he, that we worship the same God, since our God is *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*; i. e. the *Unitarians* take the first command according to the letter, *Thou shalt have no other Gods but Me*. But *Mr. Wall*, &c. interprets it, *Thou shalt have no other Gods but us Three*, and therefore they worship not the same God. But then let *Mr. Wall* consider what follows, That if the *Unitarians* worship the true God of *Israel*, that God who made all things, the God and Father of our Lord *Jesus*, and the same God which *Jesus Christ* worshipped, who never is said to worship any but his *Father*, then it follows, that if *Mr. Wall* worships another God, 'tis not that true God; and then I doubt he will hardly have the honour, he derides the *Socinians* with, of being admitted to wear a white *Turban* in *Stambole*. He must even go a little farther off, and among some of the remote *Indians* may perhaps find some associates, with whom to have brotherly and unenvy'd communion. I only mention this, to shew him the consequence of his rash zeal; not that I think he really is for another

ther God than the Socinians or Arians, tho of that God he may have other notions, as the several sorts of Trinitarians have different conceptions of him from each other. I pray God preserve him from gratifying his passion and aversion to Arians, &c. at so dear a rate, as the renouncing the true God for their believing in him, or the admitting many Gods, because they hold but one.

At this rate, how many different Gods might an envious mind tax the Christians with? Thus the several sorts of Trinitarians will have several Gods: Our God, says one Trinitarian, is three infinite minds; but, says another sort, our God is but one infinite mind, with three modes or somewhats, &c. Ergo, they don't worship the same God, according to Mr. Wall. So the Arminians and Calvinists will have two Gods; for says one side, our God is of a nature holy and good, he can't will sin and the misery of his creatures; our God, says the other, does will and decree sin, and makes men do it, to please himself in their damnation, as an act of sovereignty; ergo, we have not the same God, nor of the same nature. This is a fine healing method which Mr. Wall is setting up!

Many have wondred how it comes to pass that the Unitarians, who have the most to say for themselves and whose arguments are serious, sober and pertinent, by confession of their opposers, should yet be run down with more odium and bitter censures than any other sect: But the solution is not difficult; for when once any party, either by the constitution of their church, or by the sacred ties of a beneficial income, are oblig'd to subscribe, or openly pronounce the undoubted everlasting perdition of their brethren, then the next thing likely to be done by a considerate man

(whose heart smites him for it, as a harsh uncommon piece of cruelty) is to devise, and strain, and aggravate matters as ill as he can, that he may make those persons look something like such as are fit to be thus curs'd and damn'd by him; since curs'd and damn'd, with great solemnity, they must needs be: lest if they should be thus censur'd without a cause, those texts, *Mat. 7. 1. Judge not, that ye be not judged,* and *Mat. 5. 22. Whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment,* might bode them ill, and frighten them with that same damnation which with such undoubting confidence they have openly denounc'd against their brethren. That therefore they may be able to perform their part heartily, it is requisite to make things look as bad as possibly they can on the *Unitarians* side, and to imagine these worship another God, and blaspheme Jesus Christ, &c. that so without relenting, they may, in open view, chearfully offer them up to the forest indignation of God for ever; which if they do escape, 'twill be without much thanks due to the disciples of *Vigilius Thapsensis*.

The supposed Author of the *Athanasian Creed*.

P. 547,
548.

This is the more unreasonable in *Mr. Wall*, for that he has given us two characters of fundamental doctrines, which will go very far to clear the *Unitarians* from the charge of error in fundamentals: three persons in one and the same God, or infinite Mind, being never expressly or clearly and plainly deliver'd in any text of Scripture, whatever proof be pretended from remote consequences, which some sincere persons cannot perceive, no not with the help of an early education therein, and a strong bias too from great worldly interest, which are not wont to blind the eyes in favour of the losing side of a question. Nor was it in the next place
pat

put into the most *antient creeds*, witness the common antient creed, call'd the *Apostles* creed; nay even the *Nicene* creed never determin'd the equality of the Third Person to the Father, and therefore a part of the *Constantinopolitan* creed is tack'd to the end of it, and now-a-days it passes all together for the *Nicene* creed, as the learned well know.

But to return (after this digression made necessary by Mr. *Wall's* warmth against the *Unitarians*) to the argument of baptism: I am sensible one question may arise, from what has been said about the not baptizing the seed of believers, *viz.* Whether a person may communicate at the Lord's table who is born in Christianity of baptiz'd parents, but has not been himself baptiz'd in person? But this will easily be determin'd by what has been said, according to the strength or weakness of my main argument.

For tho Mr. *Wall* says, *Of all absurdities none ever maintain'd that the unbaptiz'd should communicate*; yet if he will not allow the seed of baptiz'd parents for baptiz'd persons by virtue of their Christian birth, he must either shew that the offspring of believers were in person baptiz'd in the early beginnings of Christianity, or there will be some ground to suppose, that what he accounts an absurdity was the first practice; and that Christians did communicate by virtue of their birth-privilege, as the seed of baptiz'd parents: since all those, who were bound to communicate, were not (as Euseb. far as yet appears) bound to be, in their immediate persons, baptiz'd †. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. L. 7. c. 9.

E e 3

And

† Nor does it appear from the New-Testament history, or the antient Christian writers, that any of those Apostles who were trained up under our Lord Christ from the beginning, either actually were, or were required to be baptized with Christian baptism, tho they were sent to baptize others who became *Converts* afterwards. T. E.

And if we look to the *Jewish* custom in relation to the *pasceum* of the passover, whence our Lord took the occasion of instituting his supper, we may find yet more countenance for our supposition, in that all the *female communicants* were admitted without baptism, or any other requir'd badge of initiation, so that they were but such as descended from circumcis'd parents; tho the *males*, on some other account, were to be first circumcis'd. Whence it appears, that if we make the case of admission to the *Lord's supper* parallel to this, we can only say, that such as are requir'd to be baptiz'd, must be so before they communicate, and no others: and then this resolves the business into the extent of the command for baptism, whether it reach to the seed of Christians, or not; otherwise there is no necessity from the nature of the ordinances themselves, that all should be solemnly initiated by a ceremony before communicating.

Now upon the whole, as I have no interest, party, nor prejudice to serve (which scarcely any but a layman can truly say) so I am not dogmatical, nor positive in the matter, but only propound it as a problem: Nor will I violently defend it, but shall be altogether as well pleas'd to see my argument fairly confuted, as any one shall be to undertake it; and will conclude with Mr. Baxter's words (in his *Catholic Communion doubly defended*) *I flatter no party, and I look to gain by none: I have gather'd no church to depend on for kindness, nor is the fear of displeasing them a bias to my judgment* †.

POST-

† Dr. Waterland, Sermon viii. p. 320. makes this remark, That Mr. Emlyn is for laying Baptism aside among the posterity of baptized Christians, (tho the argument only affects the absolute necessity of it, and that upon Mr. Wall's principles) and he says, *this is doing the business at once.* I wonder then that he



POSTSCRIPT.

AS I was never peremptory in my determination of this problem, so I am ready to give what arguments I can, whether it be on the one side or the other; and therefore, because the following passages may be thought to give some light into the question, I think fit to set them down here.

Justin Martyr in his Apol. speaking of the Eucharist, says, To which none is admitted, but who believes our doctrine to be true, having being washed in the laver of regeneration for the remission of sins, and living as Christ has taught. As many as being convinced do believe the things we teach, and promise to live according to them, after prayer and fasting, are led by us to the water, and are regenerated after the same manner as we also were. But whether he spake of any others than of such, who were profelyted to Christianity, is doubtful.

And to the same purpose, say the *Constit. Apost.*
Let none eat of these things who is not initiated, but L. 7. c. 25.
those

he would not confute me in so important a point. If he can do any thing to support Mr. Wall's argument, and to defend it from my objected consequence, it would be kindly taken as a good service to the church; and to none more pleasing than to me, who would be glad to be overcome; but if he can do nothing to weaken my argument, then, after all, I doubt he must yield that the business is done indeed. From whom can we expect such a Defence, if not from one who attributes a life-giving virtue to the sacramental rites, and more saving efficacy to those ritual positive institutions of Christ, than to moral virtues? (which, I think, are indeed the divine nature and image) as does the Author of the *Remarks on Dr. Clarke's Exposition of the church catechism*, p. 83, 85. T. E.

those only who have been baptiz'd into the death of the Lord. But if any one (not initiated) is a partaker thro' ignorance, instruct him quickly, and initiate him, that he may not go out and despise you.

To these general expressions, I may add this particular passage, that is more determinate; where L. 6. c. 15. speaking to *Christians*, the words are, *Baptize your infants, and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.* Which if spoken, as I think they are, of *proper infants in age*, will, I confess, shew the continued use of baptism, in *Christians posterity*, to be intended, so far as this authority can carry it: and that it is indeed spoken of *little infants* before instruction, I think appears,

1. In that these *ἡλικία*, or *little children*, are distinct from the *catechumens*, the baptizing of whom is made another distinct article, which follows, c. 18. *Instruct the catechumens in the elements of religion, and baptize them.* So that they are not the same with the *catechumens*.

2. The method prescribed is different: the *catechumens* were *first* to be instructed, and *then* baptized; but these *infants* were to be *first* baptized, and *then* instructed. *These* seem to be the children of christian parents, and the *other* to be *profelytes*, who were to be first instructed. And the same method of previous instruction seems not to be used with the *two* sorts.

3. There is a difference in the phrase, *your infants*, and only *the catechumens*, to express a nearer and more natural propriety in the one, as parents, than in the other.

See also L. 7. c. 44. So that I think *these constitutions* do hereby favour the practice of *infant-baptism* among *Christians*: Tho' it can never stand upon that foot, on which Mr. *Wall* and others have set it, *viz.* the antient practice of the *Jews*. And let these things weigh what they will, I thought it but fair to

to lay them before the reader; as I would do the like in any other doubtful controversy, in order to the discovery of truth.

I add, that *Irenæus* is plain, among others, for the baptism of *infants*: for as he calls baptism by the name of *regeneration*, lib. 1. c. 18. so afterwards, lib. 2. c. 39. he tells us, that *infants* are *regenerated* or born again by Christ, and *such infants* too as had not attained a capacity of understanding, as appears by the gradation he uses; viz. *infantes, parvuli, pueri, juvenes, & senes*, so that they must be *such infants*, as were not only under (*pueri*) children, but under (*parvuli*) little children; and *such*, to whom he would not say Christ was an example, as he does of the others; thereby intimating them to be *so young*, as not to be capable of observing any example, or to have knowledge enough for it; besides, that his words, *per omnem ætatem*, include all degrees of age which Christ went thro'. But whether this be meant of other than *profelytes*, does not appear, for it is probable, that the (*senes*) old men, related only to such.

A Letter of the Author in answer to some Objections proposed to him on this head.

S I R,

YOUR first argument is, *That the posterity of profelytes to the Jewish religion were no longer Heathens or Infidels, but counted pure and clean, and so needed not baptism.* Now this is also supposed by me to be the case of *the posterity of baptized Christians*, that they are relatively *holy*, and not unclean or out of the visible church; and indeed this is the very thing in question before us:
and